PHILEMON

TO

HYDASPES;

In FOUR PARTS.

BOOKS Printed for DANIEL BROWNE, at the *Black-Swan* without *Temple-Bar*.

1. HORACE's SATIRES, EPISTLES, and ART of Poetry, tranſlated into *Engliſh*, with Notes. By S. DUNSTER, D.D. Prebendary of *Sarum*. The 5th Edition reviſed and corrected, with conſiderable Improvements, and ſome additional Notes.

2. A *New Tranſlation* of JUVENAL's SATIRES, with Explanatory and Claſſical Notes relating to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the *Greeks* and *Romans*.

3. The SATIRES of PERSIUS, tranſlated into *Engliſh* by THOMAS SHERIDAN, D.D. with explanatory Notes. The 2d Edition; to which is added an alphabetical Index.

4. BIOGRAPAIA CLASSICA; the LIVES and CHARACTERS of all the CLASSIC *Authors*, the *Grecian* and *Roman* Poets, Hiſtorians, Orators, and Biographers, in 2 Volumes, *viz.*

VOL. I. Containing the Lives, *&c.* of the *Grecian* Poets.

VOL. II. Containing the Lives, *&c.* of the *Grecian* Hiſtorians. With an Hiſtorical and Critical Account of them, and their Writings; illuſtrating their ſeveral Excellencies, and ſhewing their Defects, from the Judgment and Remarks of the moſt celebrated Critics, both Ancient and Modern.

BOOKS Printed for T. WALLER, in the *Temple-Cloyſters*.

Juſt Publiſhed,

(*Tranſlated into* Engliſh, *with Notes Hiſtorical and Explanatory, and an Introductory Preface*,)

M. T. CICERO DE ORATORE;

Or, His Character and Qualifications of an Orator. To which is added, in order to make this Undertaking of more general Uſe to the Learners and Readers of CICERO's Works in the Original, *An Explanation of the Terms and Phraſes uſed by the Author, alphabetically digeſted*. By WILLIAM GUTHRIE, Tranſlator of the Orations.

Where may be had in Two Volumes,

(*Tranſlated into* Engliſh, *with Notes Hiſtorical and Critical*,)

THE ORATIONS OF CICERO.

CONTAINING,

1. For *Milo*, tried for killing *Clodius*.
2. Againſt *Cæcilius*, upon the Right of impeaching *Verres*.
3. For *Archias* the Poet, upon his Claim to the Privileges of a *Roman* Citizen.
4. Before *Cæſar*, upon his pardoning *Marcellus*.
5. In favour of the *Manillian* Law, for extending *Pompey*'s Military Power.
6. In Defence of *Ligarius*, accuſed of Rebellion againſt *Cæſar*.
7. The four againſt *Catiline*.
8. In Defence of *Cælius*, accuſed of defrauding, and intending to poiſon a Lady, whoſe Lover he had been.
9. Firſt and ſecond *Philippics*.

N. B. The whole Works of CICERO will be tranſlated by the ſame Gentleman, and publiſhed ſeparately, as each Piece is finiſhed, with all convenient Speed.

PHILEMON
TO
HYDASPES;

RELATING

Several CONVERSATIONS with HORTENSIUS, upon the Subject of *False Religion.*

In FOUR PARTS.

PART I.
In which is endeavoured to be ſhewn, That the beſt Key to Men's Religious Oeconomy is the Obſervation of their *Natural* Temper; and that every Inſtance of Falſe Conduct in the *one*, is to be reſolved into ſome *correſponding* Peculiarity in the other: With a more peculiar Application to the Caſe of an extravagant Devotion.

PART II.
In which is aſſerted, The General Lawfulneſs of Pleaſure; and the Extravagant Severities of ſome Religious Syſtems are ſhewn to be a direct Contradiction to the *Natural* Appointment and Conſtitution of Things.

PART III.
In which ſome General Account is endeavoured to be given of the Riſe and Conſtitution of *Falſe Theory* in Religion in the *earlier* Pagan World.

PART IV.
In which a farther General Account is endeavoured to be given of the Riſe and Conſtitution of *Falſe Theory* in Religion in the *earlier* Pagan World.

LONDON:

Printed for D. BROWNE, at the *Black-Swan*, without *Temple-Bar*; and T. WALLER, in the *Middle-Temple-Cloyſters.*

MDCCXLII.

PHILEMON
TO
HYDASPES;

RELATING

A CONVERSATION with HORTENSIUS, upon the Subject of *False Religion.*

In which is endeavour'd to be ſhewn,

That the beſt Key to Men's RELIGIOUS OECONOMY is the Obſervation of their *Natural* Temper;

AND

That every Inſtance of FALSE CONDUCT in the *one*, is to be reſolved into ſome *correſponding* Peculiarity in the other:

With a more particular Application to the Caſe of an EXTRAVAGANT DEVOTION.

THE SECOND EDITION.

Sermo oritur, non de villis, domibuſve alienis:
Nec, male necne, Lepos ſaltet: ſed quod magis ad nos
Pertinet, & neſcire malum eſt, agitamus———
HOR. Sat. Lib. II. Sat. 6. ver. 71.

LONDON:
Printed for M. STEEN, in the *Inner-Temple-Lane.*
MDCCXXXVIII.

BODLEIAN
17 MAR 1942
LIBRARY

PHILEMON
TO
HYDASPES.
&c.

I AM ſure, my *Hydaſpes*, I need no Apology for calling off your Attention a while from the gay purſuits of the Town, to give you ſome ſhare in thoſe calmer Pleaſures in which *Hortenſius* and I have been ingaged ſince I left you. You are not of the Number of too many polite People, who know no Entertainment beyond what Crouds and public Scenes can give them; but ſtepping aſide ſometimes from the Noiſe and Hurry of a more expoſed Life, can with a much *truer* Reliſh of Happineſs enjoy *yourſelf* or your *Friend* in private. It is your peculiar Felicity to have *united* two Characters, which many miſtake for *Inconſiſtent*,

ſiſtent, becauſe ſo rarely found *together*, the *Philoſopher*, and the *Gentleman*. This is a part ſo natural to you, that whether I have attended you in the mixed and faſhionable Societies of the World, or in the ſelect Parties of Men of Letters and Erudition, I have never been able to determine whether you have better accommodated yourſelf to the *Pleaſantry* of the one, or the *Severity* of the other; for indeed you have been univerſally careſs'd and applied to as the very Life and Spirit of both. I wiſh, methinks, for the World's ſake at leaſt, *Hortenſius* had a little more of this happy Popularity of Diſpoſition. 'Tis pity his great Worth ſhould be known only within the Circle of a few particular Friends. It ſeems a kind of public Injury in him to conceal the many valuable Qualifications he is Maſter of in Shade and Obſcurity, which ought rather to be made conſpicuous for common Benefit. But *Hortenſius* is inflexibly reſolved to purſue his retired Courſe of living——and after all, 'tis a *pardonable* Fault at leaſt, ſince it is perhaps the *only* one to be found in his whole Character, that he is not enough liberal of the good Influences of it.

WHEN I went ſome time ago out of Town, it was, as you know, to make this excellent Perſon a Viſit. As you have often

often heard me expreſs a more than ordinary pleaſure in his Converſation; I dare ſay you are not without a Curioſity to know upon what Points of any moment it has chiefly turn'd, during my ſtay with him.

THE firſt Evening that I reach'd the agreeable Scene of my Friend's Retreat, I found him ſitting at the end of a favourite Walk in his Garden, with a Book in his hand; and ſo ſeemingly intent upon what he was reading, that I had got near enough to ſpeak to him, before he diſcover'd any thing of me. Upon my calling him by his Name, he roſe up in haſte, and coming eagerly towards me, embraced me with that natural flow of Good-humour, and Openneſs of Soul, which diſtinguiſhes the genuine *Sincerity* of the *Friend*, from the counterfeit *Complaiſance* of the mere *well-bred* Man. As ſoon as our firſt interview was over, what *grave Moraliſt* (ſaid I) *Hortenſius*, were you converſing with juſt now, who had ſo ingaged your attention, that you ſaw nothing of me as I came along the Walk, till I diſcover'd my ſelf, by ſpeaking to you?

PERHAPS (return'd he) you will not be of opinion my Studies were ſo very *ſerious*, when I tell you it was a piece of *Engliſh Poetry*

Poetry I was peruſing, and a *late* one too, continu'd he, ſmiling———

THE *Eſſay on Man* (ſaid I) as uſual, I ſuppoſe, or ſome of the other *moral* Pieces of the *ſame* excellent Author: for, to ſay the truth, there are very few other *modern* Performances in the *poetical* kind, which I can imagine a Man of your ſedate rational turn of thinking would be likely to beſtow ſo ſerious a review upon. Our latter Poets have ſeldom riſen higher than bare *Amuſement* at the beſt; *pure Deſcription* for the moſt part *holding the place of Senſe* with them *, till the celebrated Author of the *Eſſay* appear'd on the behalf of the long injur'd *Muſes*, and undertook to reſcue them from an Imputation too commonly thrown upon them by Men of *ſeverer* Thought, of being become like too many *others* of their *Sex*, little better than *agreeable Triflers*. He indeed, 'tis on all hands confeſs'd, has abundantly re-eſtabliſh'd their ſinking Reputation; has rais'd the ſacred Name and Office of *Poet* to its original Credit and Dignity; or in his own beautiful way of expreſſing it,

Turn'd the tuneful Art
From Sounds to Things, from Fancy to the Heart †.

* Mr. *Pope*'s Epiſtle to Dr. *Arbuthnot*, line 148.
† *Eſſay*, Part IV. lin. 379.

In

In him the *Philoſopher* and the *Poet* go hand in hand, and you have all the Uſe and Inſtruction of the beſt proſe Writing convey'd to you under the additional recommendation of the moſt graceful and poliſh'd Numbers. Excellent Reſtorer of the true *poetic Character!* which one, who well underſtood it, has repreſented to be,

Simul & jucunda & idonea dicere vitæ *.

But a Genius like Mr. *Pope*'s, is one of thoſe choicer Bounties of Heaven, which are beſtow'd only on ſome few more *exalted* and *favorite* Spirits,

quibus arte benignâ
E meliore luto finxit præcordia Titan †.

HERE *Hortenſius* interrupted——I ſee, (ſays he) *Philemon*, you are not yet proof againſt the *Enchantment* of this Subject; but are running out into your uſual vein of *Enthuſiaſm* upon it, for which, you know, I have ſo often rallied you; comparing in ſome degree the Effect which the fancied Preſence of this *Great Man* has always upon *your* Mind and Thoughts, to that *myſterious* Change which is wrought upon the Poet's *own* in his inſpired Moments, when under the *propitious Influence* of his

* Hor. de Art. Poet. 334.
† Juv. Sat. 14. Lib. 5. *v.* 34, 35. var.

invoked

invoked Muſe, and in the full *Ecſtacy* of her *divine Communications!* However, now you are come again to your ſelf, and your firſt heat and glow of Fancy is pretty well over, I will be ſerious in owning to you that it was Mr. *Pope*'s *Eſſay* to which I was indebted for my Entertainment when you enter'd the Garden. I had been reviewing a favorite Paſſage of mine there, and was purſuing a Train of Reflections which that had ſuggeſted to me.

PERHAPS (ſaid I) you will oblige me ſo far as to communicate ſome ſhare of your Garden-Entertainment to your *Friend*, and to admit me as a Party with you in theſe your Evening Meditations: This will be an effectual means to check any farther Sallies of my *Enthuſiaſm*, and to reduce me from thoſe *irregular Ferments* of Imagination you are uſed to rally me upon, to the *ſoberer* Exerciſes of Reaſoning and Philoſophy.

WITH all my heart, (reply'd *Hortenſius*) but the Subject I was upon is pretty *Extenſive*, and we ſhall hardly be able to go thro' with it to-night——it will not be long before we ſhall be call'd in to ſupper: it will ſerve to entertain us ſome Morning, whilſt you are ſo good as to ſtay with me, when we ſhall have more leiſure to purſue it.

THIS

THIS was a very genteel Rebuke to me for growing ſerious, as I dare ſay you muſt have thought, a little out of ſeaſon; conſidering I had but juſt ſaluted, as it were, my Friend, whom I had not ſeen ſome time. I immediately took the hint, and we fell, as was more ſuitable, into ſome Topics of a private nature, uſual at firſt meeting, which laſted us to Supper-time; after which the remainder of the Evening was taken up with ſeveral indifferent matters, juſt as they happen'd to ariſe, without order or connection; and at a moderate hour we bad good-night.

PART II.

THE next Morning, the Day proving extremely fine, *Hortenſius* propoſed to me to have breakfaſt in the Garden, which I readily came into; and it was accordingly ſoon after brought to us, in a little retiring Room, which he had built there for the conveniency of avoiding the Interruptions of his domeſtic Affairs, and of enjoying a freer Air, and more extended Proſpect, whenever the Seaſon of the Year, and State of the Weather ſhould invite to ſuch a Retreat. It is here he frequently amuſes his ſolitary Hours, and has generally half a dozen of his *favorite* Authors lying about for that purpoſe——This was a fair occaſion to remind him of the Promiſe he had made me, of renewing his laſt Evening Speculation with me at a favorable Opportunity, which I accordingly loſt no time to do, as ſoon as Breakfaſt was removed———'Twas but (I told him) to give his *free* Thoughts *Voice* and *Accent*; he would, I hoped, be under no *reſtraint* upon the account of my being pre-

preſent; eſpecially, as this would not be the firſt time he had made me ſo much his *Friend*, as to *initiate* me into theſe ſacred *Myſteries* of his Retirement.

SINCE you will needs (*Philemon*, ſaid he) bear a part with me in theſe my ſolitary Exerciſes, I will introduce them to you in the ſame manner as, I told you, I firſt fell into them my ſelf, by reading to you a Paſſage out of Mr. *Pope*. But I muſt firſt oblige you to this Condition, that you ſhall not run out any more into general Panegyric upon the Author, (of whoſe ſuperior Merit nothing can give me an higher eſteem than I have at preſent) but confine yourſelf intirely to the Matter of his Reflexions—'Tis here in the third Part of the *Eſſay on Man*, where he is deſcribing the firſt Openings of Religious Truths upon the ſimpler Ages of the World. Societies, he tells us, were not as yet inlarg'd beyond the Limits of ſingle Families: the younger Branches of which look'd no higher in the Chain of Things, than to their *Parent*, from whoſe Loins they were more immediately propagated: Eſteeming him not as the *Subſtitute* of ſome *ſuperior Providence*, but as himſelf the very *Fountain-head*, from whence their Being, and all the Advantages of it, were ultimately derived to them. Till at length, the ſad Experience of this

their Parent's *Mortality*, put them upon inquiring after another, and farther Cauſe of all theſe things: They concluding with great Reaſon, that he could not be the original Author of Life and Happineſs to *others*, whom they had found ſo unable to continue them to *himſelf*, beyond the Limits aſſign'd by ſome more powerful Superior. Take the Thought in the Poet's own Language——

Till drooping, ſick'ning, dying, they began,
Whom they rever'd as God, to mourn as Man.
Then looking up from Sire to Sire, explor'd
One great firſt Father, and that firſt ador'd.
Or plain Tradition that this all begun
Convey'd unbroken Faith from Sire to Son.
The Workman from the Work diſtinct was known,
And ſimple Reaſon never ſought but one.
E'er Wit oblique had broke that ſteady Light,
Man, like his Maker, ſaw that all was right.
To Virtue in the Paths of Pleaſure trod,
And own'd a Father, when he own'd a God.
Love all the Faith, and all th' Allegiance then,
For Nature knew no Right divine in Men;
No Ill could fear in God: and underſtood
A Sovereign Being, but a Sovereign Good.——*

How *amiable* a Repreſentation this of the divine Being! a Being, whoſe Worſhip is *Love* and *Gratitude!* Whoſe Service a

* *Eſſay on Man*, Part III. line 224.

State

State of *manly* and *rational Freedom!* Whoſe Sovereignty over us but a more *inlarged Power*, guided by a *never-ceaſing Diſpoſition* to *do us good!* A God, whoſe *proper* Character is that moſt *indearing* one of *Father!* What a noble Aſſemblage of tender and affecting Ideas! How different from the *too uſual* Repreſentations of this matter! By a *certain* way of thinking, *Philemon*, that prevails upon this Subject, one would be tempted to imagine, Men were taught to believe in a *Manichean evil* God at the Helm of Things, inſtead of a *kind* and *benevolent* Principle. They never ſeem to conceive of a Deity, as of an affectionate Father to the whole Syſtem of rational Beings that hang upon his Care; whoſe only *poſſible* Motive in bringing them into Exiſtence, could be to communicate *Happineſs* to them; and diffuſe upon them the kindly Influences of his Love and Bounty: But rather paint him to their *frighted* Imaginations, with all the Pomp and Terror of dreadful and auſtere *Majeſty*; a kind of *Omnipotent Tyrant* at the head of an Univerſe of *Slaves*: Who accordingly muſt pay their Court to him, if they hope to eſcape his Vengeance, or taſte any thing of his Favour, by abject *Servility*, mean *Adulation*, and forced *Reverence*. Yet, *Philemon*, the Language of unprejudiced Reaſon and Nature ſpeaks quite other things

of

of a *ſupreme Manager*. There we find, as our Poet has judiciouſly obſerved, a *ſovereign Being*, and a *ſovereign Good* are equivalent Expreſſions. Indeed the two Ideas are ſo intimately allied to each other, that ſo long as Mankind retained any thing of their firſt Simplicity and native Ingenuity of Mind, they could hardly be ſuppoſed to ſeparate them. For what Thoughts could Creatures newly become conſcious to themſelves of *imparted* Exiſtence and Happineſs entertain of the great *Author* of ſuch *unmerited* Bleſſings, but that He muſt be in himſelf a Being of the moſt perfect *Benevolence?* Nothing but the extremeſt Perverſeneſs, or worſe Ingratitude could prevent their being led from the manifold *experience* they had of his *Goodneſs*, to the thankful *acknowledgment* of it: Or, as our Author beautifully expreſſes it, their owning

a Father, when they own'd a God.

I muſt confeſs, (ſaid I) *Hortenſius*, (interrupting him,) I am very much of your Opinion as to the firſt Riſe of *Theiſm* in the world; ſuppoſing, as you do, that Men were ever left to reaſon themſelves into the Belief of a God by their meer *natural* Light, without any originally *revealed* Notices of this kind conveyed from Father to Son in a way of *Tradition*. For this, you know,

know, *ſome* have aſſerted to be the real truth of the Caſe; and indeed there is a great deal may be ſaid for this ſide of the Queſtion. The Poet himſelf has a Glance at it in the Paſſage you have been reading out of him.

Or plain Tradition that this all begun,
Convey'd unbroken Faith from Sire to Son.

However, as I ſaid before, allowing the truth of your Hypotheſis, and that *Revelation* had nothing to do in the Affair, I am much more inclined to reſolve the Belief of a Deity, as you have done, into a Principle of *natural Gratitude*, than with *Epicurus*, and his Followers, into I know not what *ſuperſtitious* Awe and Dread Men are under of *inviſible Power*.

At leaſt (returned *Hortenſius*) if I was to admit ſuch a *natural* Jealouſy and Apprehenſion of inviſible *Power*, as theſe Gentlemen contend for, I ſhould hardly think of making the *uſe* they do of it, to diſprove the *real* exiſtence of any ſuch *Power*. Sure 'tis an odd way of Reaſoning Men out of their Belief of a God, to tell them the Fear of him is *natural* to them. For indeed allowing the Paſſion to be *natural*, I ſhould be apt to conclude from the Analogy of all other *natural* Paſſions, that it muſt have a Foundation in *Nature*; ſome ſuitable

and

and correſpondent Object in the *Reality* and *Conſtitution* of *things*.

You know, (ſaid I) *Hortenſius*, they pretend to derive this fear and ſuſpicion of Mankind ſolely from their Ignorance of the Cauſes of natural Events. So *Lucretius*, upon the Principles of the Sect, expreſly tells us. I ſee you have the Works of that Poet here, give me leave to turn to the Paſſage.

Quippe ita Formido mortales continet omnes,
Quod multa in Terris *fieri*, Cœloque *tuentur,*
Quorum operum Cauſas *nullâ ratione videre*
Poſſunt, ac fieri divino Numine *rentur* *.

And *Horace*, (you muſt remember) mentions it as an inſtance of Philoſophical *Heroiſm*, which but few could attain to, to be able to contemplate the Grandeur and Regularity of Nature without a little ſpice of this popular Superſtition.

Hunc Solem, & Stellas, & decedentia certis
Tempora Momentis, ſunt qui Formidine *nullâ*
Imbuti ſpectent †.

But then if the *ſtated* and *ordinary* Courſe of Nature is ſo apt to inſpire a *ſuperſtitious* Awe and Reverence, the more *extraordinary* and *unuſual* Phænomena will have a much

* Lib.I. v.152. Vid. etiam Lib.V. v.1182. Lib. VI. v.49 to 56. † *Hor.* Epiſt. Lib.I. Epiſt.VI. v.4.

much *ſtronger* effect this way. For beſides that the mere circumſtance of their being *uncommon* has a more obvious tendency to beget *ſurpriſe*, many of them may be ſaid to have, as it were, ſomething of *natural Pomp*, and *Terror* even in *themſelves*. As for inſtance, Thundrings, Lightnings, various kinds of Meteors, Earthquakes, *&c.* agreeably to the Obſervation of another Poet of the *Epicurean* Perſuaſion.

Primus in Orbe Deos fecit timor, *ardua cælo*
Fulmina cum caderent, diſcuſſaque mœnia
Flammæ,
Atque Ictus flagraret Athos——*

And ſo *Horace* intimates a particular aptneſs in Thunder to ſtrike Men with religious Impreſſions.

Cælo tonantem credidimus Jovem
Regnare—— †

And *Lucan*, I remember, almoſt in the ſame words

——*per* Fulmina *tantum*
Sciret adhuc ſolum cælo regnare tonantem ‖.

Now with a View to the eradicating theſe popular Superſtitions, and to the freeing Men from the ſlavery of thoſe religious Fears which their ignorance of the Cauſes

* *Pet. Arb.* Frag. Sat. p. 524. ed. Mich. Had.
† *Hor.* Odarum Lib. III. Ode 5.
‖ *Lucan.* Lib. III. Phar. v. 319, 320. var.

and proceedure of *natural* Events had ſubjected them to; *Epicurus*, as his Interpreter and great Panegyriſt *Lucretius* informs us, undertook to inſtruct them in a more accurate knowledge of Nature: To explain to them her ſeveral Phænomena, and give a Phyſical Solution of her various operations upon no *higher* a Principle than mere Matter in motion. Hear how the Poet panegyrizes his Maſter upon this noble and generous Enterprize. Speaking of that abject ſtate of Mind to which Superſtition had reduced Men, *Epicurus*, he tells us, was the firſt who durſt openly attack the ſlaviſh Impoſture.

Primum Graius homo mortales tollere contra
Eſt oculos auſus, primuſque obſiſtere contra:
Quem nec Fama Deum, nec Fulmina, nec minitanti
Murmure compreſſit cœlum; ſed eo magis acrem
Virtutem inritât animi, confringere ut arcta
Naturæ primus portarum clauſtra cupiret *.

He hoped, it ſeems, by penetrating into the intimate Reaſons of Things, to give a compleat *Key* to the ſeveral Productions of Nature; and that the notion of a ſuperintending *Deity* would be effectually baniſh'd out of the world, if he could but perſuade Men to admit that the Courſe of Affairs

* *Luc.* Lib. I. 67.

might

might go on as *ſucceſsfully* without his *concurrence*. And after the Poet in the three following Lines has led his *Philoſophical Hero* thro' the whole compaſs of Nature, he goes on to repreſent him returning in a kind of triumph from the ſucceſs of his wonderful Diſcoveries; holding out, as it were, to view a *Rationale* of the Univerſe, and adjuſting the full Powers and Extent of natural *Mechaniſm*.

Unde refert nobis Victor quid poſſit oriri,
Quid nequeat *—

And yet, (interrupted *Hortenſius*) after all this pompous parade of Science, what is the Philoſophy of this his boaſted *Epicurus*, even according to his own account of it, but a continued *Series* of Blunder and Abſurdity?

That is true, (ſaid I) but the Poet has certainly embelliſhed his philoſophical *Romance* with numberleſs beautiful Turns of Thought, and an uncommon Strength and Majeſty of Stile and Expreſſion.

An excellent *Poet*, (return'd *Hortenſius*) but a wretched Bungler in *Reaſoning!* For not to deſcend to the *minuter* Branches of this *Epicurean* Syſtem, what is the *general* Foundation which it proceeds upon, the

* Lib. I. v. 76.

Eternity of Matter in motion, but a mere *gratis dictum?* A Notion obſtinately taken up againſt the inflexible Reaſon and Truth of Things? I do not deſign to enter into a particular Confutation of it, but ſhall only obſerve, that the Idea of *Self-exiſtence* is not only incompatible with ſeveral known Properties of Matter, but repugnant to the *general* Nature of it*. And yet if we ſhould allow *Matter* to have been *Eternal*, we could not admit it to have been *eternally* in *Motion*; for that would be to make *Motion* to be of the *Eſſence* of *Matter*, contrary to *plain Evidences* of Fact and Experience †.

So that had the *Epicurean* Philoſophy ſucceeded never ſo well in the Explication of Nature from theſe Principles, yet the Principles themſelves can never paſs upon Men of Thought and juſt Reflection without much better Proofs than a bare *Ipſe dixit*. This is an Errror at the firſt ſetting out, ſufficient to blaſt the whole Scheme at once. Seriouſly, *Philemon*, one cannot enough wonder at the extreme Folly of all ſuch *Schemiſts* as pretend to account for

* See *Dr.* Clarke's *Being and Attrib.* p. 22, &c. Gurdon's *Boyle's Lect.* Serm. 4. *Relig. of Nature delin.* p. 76, 77. Bentl. *Boyle's Lect.* Serm. 6. *Addit. to* Law's *Notes on* King's *Orig. Evil*, p. 13. Baxter's *Inquiry into the Nat. of the Hum. Soul at large.*

† Newtoni *Optice*, *Qu. ult.* p. 341, 343. Gurdon's Serm. pag. 169, &c. Bentley's *Boyle's Lect.* Serm. 7.

things

things upon Principles of *Mechaniſm*, when the *Origin* of that *Mechaniſm* itſelf, upon *their* Hypotheſis, is a greater *Difficulty*, than any of *thoſe* it is introduced to explain. For deduce one thing from another ever ſo long in a *mechanical* Series, without running up to a *firſt Mover*; what do you, but repeat the old exploded Conceit of the *Elephant*, and the *Tortoiſe*? All *mechanical* Solutions of natural Events, tho' never ſo *juſt* as far as they go, yet leave us at laſt in as great *Ignorance* as they found us. It may be we are got to a *ſecond* or *third* Remove, and have ſhifted the Difficulty from the *Elephant* to the *Tortoiſe*. But that fatal Queſtion recurring at every turn, " *and the Tortoiſe* " *itſelf how?*" muſt ever ſtop us in our progreſs, till we have placed ſome *Immaterial*, *Intelligent*, *Self-active* Principle at the *head* of Affairs. Our great *Theoriſt*, the admirable Sir *Iſaac Newton*, a much better Philoſopher, I do not ſay, meerly, than *Epicurus*, or *Lucretius*, or any of the more modern Retailers of their Blunders; but even than any of the moſt celebrated ones, whether of ancient or modern Times; he, I ſay, was well aware of this Truth, and has born full Teſtimony to it. For tho' he had abundantly confirmed and eſtabliſhed his Principle of *univerſal Gravity* upon the Authority of *well-try'd* Facts and Experiments, and afterwards applied it with *anſwerable*

ſwerable Succeſs to the Theory and Explication of the *Mundane Syſtem*; yet he never conſiders it otherwiſe than as a *Fact* *, of which he owns at the ſame time the *Cauſe* to be wholly *unknown* to him. And ſo far is he from thinking, that becauſe this Principle may ſerve to account for *other* things, therefore it needs no account to be given of *itſelf*, that on the contrary, he gives *hints* † of ſome accounts he had been *endeavoring* to form to himſelf of it; and finding none of them *anſwer* his purpoſe, concludes at laſt, with reſolving it into a *divine Energy* and *Superintendence*, as ſeeing it utterly irreconcileable with any *natural* or *mechanical* Principles ‖.

So that upon the whole, the falſe Triumphs of the *Epicureans* upon this Article of *natural* Cauſes amount at laſt to a public Teſtimony againſt *themſelves*; and under a pretence of proclaiming their *Victory*, do but more effectually confirm their intire *overthrow* and *defeat*. For whilſt, with a deſign to explode the Belief of a *God*, they have gone about to explain Nature without *him*, the *ill Succeſs* they have met with in their

* *Prin. Phil. Schol. gen.* ſub finem. p. 344. *Opt.* p. 374.

† *Optics*, p. 350, and elſewhere.

‖ Newtoni *Optice*, p. 373. *Prin. Phil. Schol. gen.* ſub finem, *p.* 344.

Attempt,

Attempt, is to *them* at leaſt a very convincing proof how *impracticable* ſuch an Explication really is. And thus, by pretending to undermine a *popular* Superſtition about a *Deity*, they have laid the Ground and Foundation of a *rational* Perſuaſion of *him*; and ſhewn juſt enough of the Nature and Powers of *ſecond* Cauſes to eſtabliſh beyond all poſſible doubt the Neceſſity and Reality of a *firſt*.

BUT this is wandering too far from our preſent purpoſe. I am not, (you know) undertaking to detect and expoſe *every* Error and Inconſiſtency in the *Epicurean* Syſtem; my Quarrel at preſent being only with one particular Circumſtance of it, the reſolving the Belief of a ſuperintending Deity into a Principle of *Fear*. And this, as I ſaid, ſeems to me a very *unnatural* Solution of this Matter. For allowing the *general* Conſtitution of *Nature* to proclaim never ſo loudly the infinite *Power* of its almighty *Architect*, yet the manifold traces of *kind* and *good* intention * which run every where thro' it, do at leaſt as ſtrongly evidence an infinite *Goodneſs* to have been concerned in its Contrivance. And therefore, ſuppoſing Men to be never ſo ſenſible

* See this Sentiment finely enlarg'd upon in *Hutch. Nat. and Cond. of the Paſſions*, p. 180, 181. See alſo p. 182, to 189.

of

of the *Power* of their Maker, yet they muſt at the ſame time diſcern it to be a *Power* guided and directed by a Principle of *Kindneſs* and *Benevolence* towards *them*, and conſequently an Object of *Hope* and *Confidence*, much rather than of *Fear*, or *Diſquietude*. Who ſees not that a *great part* of Nature miniſters directly to our *Uſe*? A much *greater* to our *Pleaſure* and *Entertainment* *? If ſome *few* particulars have a *different* Aſpect, ſtill the Balance upon compariſon turns evidently in our *favour*; and a *few* contrary Inſtances rather confirm than weaken a *general* Rule. Beſides, that theſe *ſeemingly* natural *Evils* upon a more accurate inquiry into Nature, appear to have, even in *themſelves*, a *beneficial* Tendency upon the *whole*, or at leaſt to be the neceſſary *Conſequences*

* This Thought is moſt beautifully purſued in the *Spectator*, vol. V. N°. 387. The following Paſſage is ſo appoſite to our purpoſe, that I cannot forbear tranſcribing it—To conſider farther this *double End* in the Works of Nature, and how they are at the ſame time both *uſeful*, and *entertaining*, we find the moſt *important* Parts in the *vegetable* World are thoſe which are the moſt *beautiful*. Theſe are the *Seeds* by which the ſeveral Races of Plants are propagated and continued, and which are always lodged in *Flowers*, or *Bloſſoms*. Nature ſeems to hide her *principal* Deſign, and to be *induſtrious* in making the Earth *gay*, and *delightful*, whilſt ſhe is carrying on her *great Work*, and intent upon her own *Preſervation*. p. 274, 275. See alſo, N°. 393.

of

of ſome *general* Principles that evidently *have* *.

As to what you was obſerving, (*Philemon*) that ſome of the more *extraordinary* Appearances in Nature have a kind of natural Terror in them, it may, I think, be juſtly queſtioned whether *Guilt* or *Superſtition* have not been the chief Cauſes of this. At leaſt, even by your own account, the Inſtances of this kind are *unuſual* and *extraordinary*, and therefore not to be regarded in a *general* Eſtimate. Whereas, on the contrary, the *ordinary ſtated Courſe* of things is calculated to excite in us a *perpetual Train* of *pleaſing* and *agreable* Senſations. To go no farther than a familiar Inſtance:

* See Archbiſhop *King, of the Origin of Evil*, tranſlated by *Law*, with the Tranſlator's excellent Notes—*Rel. of Nat. delin.* under the Art. of *part. Prov.*——*Eſſay on Man*, 4. 109.—The *Frame* of *Nature* ſeems, as far as we know, plainly contriv'd for the *good* of the *Whole*; and the caſual Evils ſeem the neceſſary *Concomitants* of ſome Mechaniſm, deſign'd for vaſtly *prepollent* Good.—Hutch. *Inquiry*, p. 275. This Principle, eſtabliſhed with full Evidence by the Writers here referr'd to, and others that might be added, in many inſtances, and which is therefore by the argument of Analogy made ſomething more than probable in all: (ſince Nature, or the Author of Nature, muſt be ſuppoſed conſiſtent with himſelf) ſtrikes at the very foundation of the *Manichean* Scheme, and turns the whole force of its Artillery upon it ſelf; a Circumſtance that deſerves to be taken notice of, as pointing out the wretched Weakneſs of its Cauſe, which has not now, I would hope, many ſerious Abettors.

I have often been particularly pleaſed with the Obſervation of an *ingenious Writer*, that " *a fine Day is a kind of ſenſual Pleaſure**." For my own part I always find it ſo. 'Tis then that Nature unfolds all her brighteſt Charms to view, and opens, as it were, her whole Store-houſe of Bleſſings. The inimitable Beauty, Extent, and Variety of *natural Proſpects*, the Verdure of the Fields and Meadows, the agreable Fragrancy of the Air, the Luſtre, Mildneſs, and Benignity of the Heavens; in a word, the *whole Scene* about us wonderfully co-operates to our *Enjoyment* †. The World ſeems made for our *peculiar* Gratification; our Spirits are chear'd and enliven'd, our Imaginations warm'd and entertain'd, our rational Faculties invigorated and exerciſed. The whole Man overflows, as it were, with *Delight* and *Complacency*. In this *agreable* Conſciouſneſs, how does every *anxious* and *diſquieting* Thought vaniſh! How open is the Soul to every grateful, affectionate, and devout

* Sir *W. Temple*, vol. I. fol. 273. *Spectator*, vol. V. N°. 387. The *Sun*, which is as the great *Soul* of the *Univerſe*, and produces all the Neceſſaries of Life, has a particular Influence in *chearing* the *Mind* of *Man*, and making the *Heart glad*.

† Providence has imprinted ſo many *Smiles* on Nature, that it is impoſſible for a Mind which is not ſunk in more groſs and ſenſual Delights, to take a Survey of them without ſeveral *ſecret* Senſations of *Pleaſure*, Spect. vol. V. N°. 393.

Senti-

Sentiment, towards the great *Author* of its *Happineſs!* With what a generous *Indignation* does it reject every *unworthy* Apprehenſion of ſo tranſcendently *kind* and *excellent* a Nature! How foreign the leaſt Suſpicion of *Evil*, from a Being of ſuch experienced Bounty and Beneficence!

THESE (*Philemon*) are obvious Reflections; were I diſpoſed to be more *abſtracted* and *philoſophical*, I might go on to obſerve that the very Notion of *Power itſelf*, that Bugbear in the *Epicurean* Syſtem, (as indeed what will not Guilt and Folly make ſuch?) if we will but purſue it in its *juſt extent*, implies and leads on to *Goodneſs*. Let us conſider a little—If we look into *ourſelves*, and examine the State of our *own Hearts*, (a Practice ſurely very neceſſary, *before we aſcend*, as a celebrated Author expreſſes it *, *into the higher Regions of Divinity*) ſhall we not eaſily diſcern, that *Malice* is nothing elſe but *Weakneſs*, *Defect*, and *Impotency* †? Should it not therefore

 ſeem

* *Characteriſticks*, vol. I. page 41.

† The obvious *Frame* of the *World* gives us Ideas of *boundleſs Wiſdom*, and *Power* in its Author; ſuch a *Being* we cannot conceive *Indigent*, and muſt conclude *happy*, and in the *beſt ſtate* poſſible, *ſince he can ſtill gratify himſelf:* the *beſt ſtate* of *rational Agents*, and their *greateſt*, and moſt *worthy Happineſs*, we are neceſſarily led to imagine muſt conſiſt in *univerſal efficacious Benevolence*; and hence we conclude the *Deity* *Bene-*

ſeem to be as neceſſarily excluded from an *independent*, and *ſelf-ſufficient* Principle, as *Darkneſs* is from *Light* *? " *There is an odd* " *way of Reaſoning*, ſays the Author juſt " now referred to †, but in *certain Diſ-* " *tempers of Mind very ſovereign to ſuch as* " *can apply it*; *there can be no Malice* but " where there is an *Oppoſition* of *Intereſts*; " an *Univerſal*, Independent Being can " have no *Intereſts oppoſed*, and *therefore* " *no Malice.*" ‖ So wiſely did the *Poet* characteriſe his *ſovereign Being*, a *ſovereign Good.*

BUT may there not be conceived ſuch a thing, (ſaid I) *Hortenſius*, as *diſintereſted Malice?* and abſtracting all Arguments from preſent *Facts*, might not an infinitely *powerful* Being be at the ſame time an infinitely *evil* one?

Benevolent, in the moſt *univerſal, impartial manner.* Hutch. *Inquiry*, p. *ult.*

* This way of thinking is much the ſame with that of the ingenious *Tranſlator* of Archbiſhop *King*, and *other* Writers, who derive the *moral* Attributes of the Deity by way of *Conſequence* from his *natural* ones.

† *Charact.* vol. I. p. 39.

‖ It is ſcarce neceſſary juſt to hint here, that this Notion will not, as has been ſometimes injuriouſly charged upon it by the Enemies of this Author, deſtroy all right of Puniſhment in the Deity towards any immoral Agent, ſince Puniſhments may end in the final Benefit of ſuch Agent; and then they are not the effects of Malice, but Goodneſs.

THE Notion, (returned he, with ſome warmth,) is as full of *Contradiction* and *Abſurdity* as it is of *Horror* *.

BUT how think you, (ſaid I) as to our own Species? does not Hiſtory furniſh us with ſome Characters *thorowly* and *deliberately* evil and malicious?

I

* If all *Malice* be, as is here aſſerted, *Weakneſs*, infinite *Malice* is *Weakneſs* heighten'd to an *infinite Degree*, that is, an infinite *Privation*, an infinite *Nothing*. This Point may deſerve a more particular illuſtration, which it will admit of ſeveral ways; as thus—It may be, that all Malice is attended with ſome Degree of Pain, and conſequently infinite Malevolence muſt be attended with an infinite Degree of Pain; that is, muſt be infinitely inconſiſtent with infinite Power.—Again, an infinitely malevolent Deity could not poſſibly communicate any Degree of Power or Knowledge to any Creature, in as much as, it ſhould ſeem, Power and Knowledge are in their own nature good; now to impart any Degree of Good is againſt the Intereſts of a completely malicious Agent. But on the other hand, to deny that any Degrees of Knowledge and Power are actually communicated, is againſt all evidence of Fact and Experience. And indeed were we to abridge the ſupreme Being of any Power to communicate theſe Attributes, it would be making ſuch inroads upon his Omnipotence, as would render his ſuppoſed Malevolence as contemptibly weak, as it is in every view ſhockingly deteſtable. Or laſtly, ſhould it be ſaid, that infinite Malevolence is ſtill at full liberty to communicate both Knowledge and Power to it's Creatures, for that an artful Malice might eaſily throw in along with theſe ſuch imbittering Ingredients, as would make them a Puniſhment inſtead of

a

I think, (replied he) the incomparably ingenious Mr. *Hutcheſon* * has gone a great way towards proving that Human Nature admits not ſo *deteſtable* a Principle as a *ſettled diſintereſted Malice*; and that thoſe Actions which have the *worſt aſpect* this way are to be reſolved only into the *irregular* and *miſtaken* Application of ſome *juſtifiable* Affection †. However, allowing there might be ſome *monſtrous Productions* in the *moral* World, as well as there are in the *natural*, yet there is a *common* Standard of *true* Formation in both: and whatever may be ſaid of *Particulars*, the *general* Conſtitution of Human Nature is plainly a *Benevolent* one. And hence again riſes

a Bleſſing; I add yet farther, infinite Malevolence cannot produce even Miſery itſelf to any Degree that will anſwer its purpoſes: becauſe univerſal unlimited Miſery cannot take place without univerſal unlimited Malevolence being introduced firſt: and that once ſuppoſed in any Syſtem, it immediately becomes *Felo de ſe*, ſelf-deſtructive, and an impoſſible caſe. A Syſtem of Beings univerſally and abſolutely malevolent can no more ſubſiſt together, than a Set of abſolutely repelling Particles can form a World. Once more, it may be juſt intimated, that it is of the nature of Evil, *as ſuch*, to *deſtroy itſelf*; which makes a perfect malevolent Scheme, if one may uſe ſuch an Expreſſion, neceſſarily impracticable.

* Vide *Nature and Conduct of the Paſſions.* Inquiry, &c. *paſſim.*

† Spectators may think we have *pure diſintereſted Malice*, when it is really only the *overgrowth* of a juſt natural

riſes a farther very convincing Argument for the great Truth we are contending for; ſince a Being, not himſelf the moſt *diſintereſtedly Benevolent*, would never of his *own* free motion have given ſuch a *benevolent* Biaſs to a whole Species of his Creatures, as ſhould in a manner neceſſarily ingage them in Offices of mutual *kindneſs* and *indearment*: and which is ſo deeply rooted in their very Make and Conſtitution, that *Humanity*, a Term expreſſive of it's Influence, is by common Language appropriated to the peculiar *Diſtinction* of the *Kind* *.

MOREOVER, *Philemon*, for to *you* I may well appeal in this Affair, (ſo he partially

natural Affection, upon falſe Opinions, or confuſed Ideas, Hutch. *Inquiry*, p. 99.——*Human Nature* ſeems ſcarce capable of *malicious*, *diſintereſted Hatred*, or a *ſedate* Delight in the *Miſery* of others, *&c.* Hutch. *Inquiry*, p. 132, 133, 134.——It is very probable that there is no ſuch Degree of Wickedneſs in *Human Nature*, as, in *cold Blood*, to be pleas'd with the Miſery of others, when it is conceiv'd to be no way uſeful to *our Intereſts*, &c. *Ibid.* p. 157, to 159, *& paſſim.*—This partial Imagination of ſome *good moral Qualities* in Actions which have many *cruel*, *inhuman*, and *deſtructive* Conſequences toward *others*, is what has kept *Vice* more in countenance than any other Conſideration. *Ibid.* p. 228. Vide etiam *Nature and Conduct of the Paſſions*, p. 104, 138, to 141, *& paſſim.*

* It is not *material* to our *purpoſe* here, whether theſe *benevolent Affections* be ſuppoſed, as *ſome* would have it, *innate*; or, as *others*, only *naturally acquired*. Either

tially addreſs'd himſelf to me) who have ſo often made the Experiment; as the having theſe *benevolent* Affections is the very *Badge* and *Character* of our *Nature*, ſo from the cheriſhing, and improving theſe natural Seeds of Virtue, reſults the *Perfection* and *Happineſs* of it. The higheſt and moſt exquiſite Pleaſures we are at any time conſcious of, ariſe from a Senſe of our having acted in *conſequence* of *kind*, and *good* Affection. Whenever we do ſo, we feel a ſecret Joy and Tranſport diffuſing itſelf thro' our Breaſts; and the State of our Souls, like that of a *well-tun'd* Inſtrument,

Either way, this Reaſoning is equally concluſive.—— This *moral Senſe*, implanted in *rational Agents*, to delight in, and admire whatever Actions flow from a ſtudy of the *good* of *others*, is one of the ſtrongeſt Evidences of *Goodneſs* in the Author of *Nature*. Inquiry, p. 275.——Would we allow room to our Invention, to conceive what *Conſtitutions* of Senſes or Affections a *malicious powerful Being* might have formed, we ſhould ſoon ſee how few Evidences there are for any ſuch Apprehenſion concerning the Author of this World.— Human *Society* might have been made as uneaſy to us as the Company of *Enemies*, and yet a perpetual more violent Motive of *Fear* might have forced us to *bear* it. *Malice*, *Rancour*, *Diſtruſt*, might have been our natural Temper. Our *Honour* and *Self-Approbation* might have depended upon *Injuries*; and the *Torments* of others might have been made our *Delight*, which yet we could not have enjoy'd thro' perpetual *Fear*. Many ſuch Contrivances we may eaſily conceive, whereby an *evil Mind* could have gratified his *Malice* by our *Miſery*: but how unlike, *&c? Nat. and Cond.* p. 180, 181.

is

is all over *Harmony*, *Sweetneſs*, and *Compoſure*. Now what is this but the *ſilent* Teſtimony of our *own Hearts* that we are then in the *beſt*, the moſt *perfect* ſtate of Being, of which our Nature is made capable? And ſhall we (*Philemon*) refuſe that to the *Creator*, which we own and feel to be the higheſt Excellency, Perfection, and Ennoblement of the *Creature*? Or ſhall we not rather acknowledge, that as it is the *ſtronger* or *weaker* ſtate of this *benevolent* Principle in *ourſelves* that varies the ſeveral Degrees of Worth and Eſteem amongſt *Men*, ſo it is the *intire* prevalency, and *unallayed* Perfection of it in the *ſupreme Being*, that conſtitutes a truly *divine Character*, gives Grace and Luſtre to every other of his Attributes, and makes *Deity* itſelf properly *God-like*?

It is upon theſe grounds, (ſaid I,) as I ſuppoſe, that the *noble Author*, you have more than once hinted at, makes it a Queſtion, "*Whether any thing beſides Ill* "*Humour can be the Cauſe of Atheiſm* *?" There is ſomething ſo comfortable, ſo every way agreable to the Intereſts of Mankind in *general*, and of each individual Man in *particular*, in the notion of a *common Parent*, and *ſovereign Protector* of the *Uni-*

* *Charact.* vol. I. p. 23.

verſe, that an ordinarily good-natured Man would be tempted to *wiſh* there *might* be a God, even tho' he ſhould not be able to *prove* there *was* one. His *Affections* would evidently *lean* this way, whatever might be the Deciſion of his *Judgment* in the Caſe. And therefore it muſt argue a very high Degree of Perverſeneſs and Depravity, a State of the moſt invenom'd Spleen and Moroſeneſs, to ſtand out againſt ſo ſalutary a Truth, in the midſt of that abundant Evidence with which it is at preſent ſurrounded.

AND yet, (replied *Hortenſius*) as lovely and beneficial as the Notion of a *ſuperintending Deity* is in itſelf, the ſame *noble Author* will tell you, that, (unhappily for the World!) it has been ſo diſguiſed and tampered with, " that as *Religion ſtands* " *amongſt us, there are many good People* " *who would be eaſier in their minds if they* " *were aſſured they had only mere Chance to* " *truſt to: Who rather tremble to think* " *there ſhould be a God, than that there* " *ſhould not be one* *."

A ſad State of Things indeed (returned I,) when Men entertain ſuch hard Thoughts of a *ſupreme Manager*, as would almoſt drive them, if they *durſt*, to take

* *Charact.* vol. I. p. 40.

re-

refuge in *Forlorn Nature* as the more *comfortable* Opinion! *

WRETCHED enough! (reſumed *Hortenſius*) but 'tis an evil for which there can be no Remedy, 'till Men can be prevailed upon to liſten more to *Reaſon* in their *Religion*, than, as their too general practice is at preſent, to the Suggeſtions of *natural Temper*. For this, *Philemon*, is the very caſe in the Inſtance we are complaining of. Men of *dark* and *gloomy* Complexions invent a *Deity*, *like themſelves*, full of *Spleen*, *Sourneſs*, and *Severity*. They bring their *Ill Humour* with them into their *Religion*,

* This is the peculiar Unhappineſs of Superſtition, that it cannot chooſe but diſapprove and inwardly wiſh againſt, what yet it is obliged to reverence. *Odit, dum metuit*, is the real truth of its caſe. This made the judicious *Plutarch* give the preference to Atheiſm, as being at leaſt the more open and manly, I had almoſt ſaid, the more *religious* perſuaſion of the two; it being rather a higher inſult upon the ſupreme Being to wiſh againſt his Exiſtence, than ſimply to disbelieve it. ——ουκ οιεται θεως ειναι ὁ αθεος, ὁ δε δεισιδαιμων ὰ βυλεται, πιςευει δε ακων, απαθανειν γαρ φοβειται. καιτοι γε ὡσπερ ὁ Ταντάλος ὑπεκδυναι τον λιθον ὑπαιωρυμενον, ὰτω και ὰτος τον φοβον, ὡς κα ητιον ὑπ' αυτυ τιεζομενος, αγαπησειεν αν, και μακαρισειε την τυ αθευ διαθεσιν, ὡς ελευθεριαν——And thus he excellently ſums up the matter——νυνι δε τω μεναθεω δεισιδαιμονιας ὰδεν μετες ιν, ὁ δε δεισιδαιμων τη προαιρεσει αθεος ων, ασθενες ερος εςιν, η τυ δοξαζειν περι θεων ὁ βυλεται. De Sup. p. 170. Ed. Xyl.

and from the *actual Feeling* of theſe *evil* Diſpoſitions in their *own* Breaſts, are led to make them the *Characters* of their *Divinity*.

THAT was meaſuring, (I ſaid) by a very *partial* and *falſe* Standard; and one could not wonder at any Errors they fell into, who ſet out with no *better* a Guide.

AS *irrational* a Proceedure, (replied he) as you may eſteem it to be, believe me, 'tis a very *common* one. Seriouſly, *Philemon*, to one who has not well and often conſidered this Subject, 'tis ſcarce poſſible to imagine how *large* a Part of what moſt People *miſcall Religion*, is but the *prevailing Biaſs* of their *natural Diſpoſition*, ſcreening itſelf under that *ſacred* Character, and Appearance. And the Misfortune is the greater, as 'tis hardly poſſible to undeceive them. Errors in *Religion*, when once thoroughly imbibed, are the moſt *ſtubborn* things in Nature. Nothing is ſo *inflexible* as Conſcience, when once it is ſet wrong. It *darkens* the mind to ſuch a *fatal* degree, that *Conviction* comes to be *dreaded* as a *Crime*, and even *Blindneſs* itſelf is eſteemed *ſacred*. If you go about to *ſhew* theſe deluded People to *themſelves*, they cannot endure the *pain* of the Repreſentation. They have been

ſo

ſo long uſed to confound their own *Prejudices* about Religion with Religion *itſelf*, that if you do but touch them in thoſe *tender* Points, immediately they raiſe a cry and an alarm againſt you, as if you was erazing the very Foundations of all *Religion*, and common *Morality*. And it were to be wiſh'd, there were not ſome *wiſer* heads, who tho' they have *diſcernment* enough to ſee thro' the Cheat, can yet bring themſelves for intereſt ſake to countenance it, and artfully endeavour to ſupport and keep up a *falſe Conſcience* in the deluded Multitude, the better to inſlave them in a ſervile dependance upon *themſelves*.

I have never (ſaid I, interrupting *Hortenſius*) been uſed to conſider this matter in the light you have now placed it in. I wiſh you would enlarge a little upon it. It promiſes a good inſight into the *various Turns* of *religious Characters*; a Point, I muſt own, I have always been at a loſs to account for to myſelf. For *Religion* is doubtleſs in it's *own Nature* ſimple and uniform: and as it is a Rule of Action equally reſpecting *all* Men, muſt be ſuch an one as is *ſuited* to the *general* State and Condition of *all* Men. But view it in the *ſeveral Parties* that make equal Profeſſion of it, in ſome it ſhall ſeem to conſiſt

wholly in a *recluſe* and *abſtracted Devotion*, altogether *incompatible* with the Duties of *ſocial* Life: in others in a frequent and unrelenting exerciſe of *Self-Diſcipline* and *Auſterity*, as intirely *inconſiſtent* with all Reliſh and Enjoyment of *private* Life. A third ſort ſhall lay all the ſtreſs upon holding a particular *Set* of Opinions, with a fierce *Zeal* againſt all who happen to *differ* from them; a Notion this, again, ſo *repugnant* to the very Nature of *ſocial* Beings, that it has in fact done *more* than any other towards *eradicating* in ſeveral Inſtances the very *ſocial Inſtinct* out of Men's Hearts, and turn'd them looſe upon *one another* to act ſome of the *blackeſt Tragedies* in Hiſtory *, as it is even at this

* The moſt pernicious *Perverſions* of this Deſire (of Virtue) are ſome *partial Admirations* of certain moral Species, ſuch as *Propagation of true Religion*, *Zeal for a Party*; whilſt other Virtues are overlook'd, and the very *End* to which the admired Qualities are ſubſervient is forgotten. *Nat. and Cond.* p. 38. This (viz. *falſe Opinions* of the Will and Laws of the *Deity*) is ſo abundantly known to have produced *Follies*, *Superſtitions*, *Murders*, *Devaſtations of Kingdoms*, from a ſenſe of Virtue and Duty, that it is needleſs to mention particular Inſtances. *Inq.* p. 190. *Perſecution* appears to the *Agent* a *Zeal* for the *Truth*, and for the *eternal Happineſs* of Men, which *Heretics* oppoſe. In ſuch Inſtances Men act upon very narrow Syſtems form'd by fooliſh Opinions. It is not a *Delight* in the *Miſery* of others, or *Malice*, which occaſions the horrid Crimes which fill our Hiſtories; but generally an *injudicious*, *unreaſonable Enthuſiaſm* for ſome ſort of limited Virtue. *Ibid.* p. 189.

Inſtant

Inſtant perhaps doing in ſome *Bigotted Countries*. There are others who are ſcrupulouſly *exact* in all the outward *Ceremonials* of Religion, at the ſame time that they are neglecting Duties of much *higher Importance* in Life, upon the account of ſuch an *external Compliance*. Others again, place all Sanctity in a *contracted Brow*, and a *moroſe Behaviour*, in *reproving* you for any little *Levities* of deportment, without any regard to Times, or Places, or Perſons; as if the want of *Spirit*, or *Politeneſs*, or *Diſcretion*, was any part of *religious* Obligation; or the *ſouring* and *ſpoiling* Company, inſtead of *improving* or *entertaining* it, could be a Duty upon Creatures evidently formed and deſigned for all the Benefits of mutual Converſe and Friendly Intercourſe.

MEAN while, (interrupted *Hortenſius*) amidſt all theſe Extravagancies and Inconſiſtencies of its deluded Votaries, Religion *itſelf* is quite another thing from what any of them miſtake for it. It is a liberal, manly, rational, and ſocial Inſtitution; and ſuch as, conſider'd in its own *genuine tendency*, is calculated as well to promote our common *Intereſt* and *Happineſs* in the preſent Life, as it is to fit us for that *better ſtate* of Being which is promiſed as its reward in the future. 'Tis ſuch a ſervice as is worthy

of

of that great and good *Being*, who is the Object of it, to enjoin; and of the reaſonable Nature of *Man*, the Subject of it, to perform——I will explain to you the whole *Secret* of theſe manifold Inconſiſtencies.

You, *Philemon*, (continued he) are too well acquainted with human Nature, not to ſee how infinitely the *ſame* Paſſions which belong in the *groſs* to the *whole Species* are *diverſified* in each *Individual* of it. Every Man has his *particular ruling Paſſion*; different in ſome reſpect or other from that of every *other* Man living. 'Tis a great miſtake to imagine even his *Religion* itſelf is wholly *privileged* from the *Influence* of this *Maſter* Principle. Whatever the Advocates of ſevere *Mortification* may ſay of the Neceſſity of ſubduing our *reigning* Paſſion, I have ſeldom obſerved any one ſo ſucceſsful in this *Self-Conflict* as to come off with a compleat Victory. *Religion* itſelf is generally ſo far from controuling this *Maſter* Paſſion, that it even takes its *own Turn* and *Denomination* from *it*. At the utmoſt, it only *diverts* it from one Channel to another, varying the *Inſtances* perhaps, but not at all the *Degree* of its Indulgence. I could illuſtrate this Remark by numberleſs Examples——You know the general Character of *Sebaſtius*.

He is certainly, (ſaid I) a Man of great Parts and Genius, but he has unfortunately taken a wrong Turn. He is in a great meaſure loſt to the World in a Recluſe Monaſtic Life; and his natural *Good Senſe* by having been unhappily *miſapplied*, does but add new Fuel to his Diſtemper, and eſtabliſh him in a more confirm'd State of *Enthuſiaſm*.

Did you never hear, (ſaid *Hortenſius*) how he firſt fell into this Religious Madneſs? An old Acquaintance of his has told me, that tho' he was always a Man of a grave regular Diſpoſition, even in his youngeſt days, yet he did not take this Recluſe Turn till after a *Diſappointment* he met with in *Love*.

How, (ſaid I, interrupting him, with ſome ſurprize) Was he then ever in *Love?* He is the laſt Man in the World I ſhould have ſuſpected to have been of an *amorous* Diſpoſition.

Yet (replied he) his preſent *Turn* of *Character*, which you, I ſuppoſe, look upon as an Argument of the *contrary*, gives me the ſtrongeſt proof and conviction of *it* imaginable.

WHAT he might *once* have been, (returned I,) I cannot ſay; but certainly he has long ſince got the better of himſelf in *this* point. Why he has mortified himſelf, almoſt into the Condition of a *Skeleton.*

THAT may be *Philemon*, (ſaid he) and yet his *natural* Diſpoſition is juſt where it was, he has only ſhifted the *Object* of his Paſſion.

'TWAS ridiculous, (I could not help interpoſing) to ſuppoſe the *tender* Paſſion could have any hold upon *him*, who was all over *Moroſeneſs* and *Severity.*

ALL you can ſay to bring him off, (replied he) does but confirm me the more in the Opinion I have of him. The Circumſtance you have laſt mention'd, in *particular*, evidences beyond all others the Strength of his Attachment to his *beloved Object.* Can any thing ſhew a greater *Extravagancy* of Paſſion, than to ſee him ſacrifice, as he does, all the Comforts of Life to the *Idol* of his captivated *Affections?*

I could not but wonder, (I obſerved to him) where this *Idol* was to be found, I was ſure not in *this* World; for as to every thing

thing here *below*, it had long ſince ceaſed to have any Ingagements with him.

YET cannot you conceive, (ſaid he) *Philemon*, that ſome *fancied* Species of *Divinity* may have ſupplied the abſence of an *earthly* and *ſenſible Object*, and fill'd up that Chaſm in his Breaſt, which the *Diſappointment* I was telling you of had left there *?

YOUR Fancy, (ſaid I,) is pleaſant enough, *Hortenſius*;——I never yet thought there had been any Alliance between the Paſſions of *Love* and *religious Enthuſiaſm*. I grant indeed there is generally an *Enthuſiaſm* in *Love*; but ſure 'tis of a very different kind from what is called ſuch in *Religion*.

'TIS only the *ſame* Paſſion, (replied he) *differently* applied and exerciſed. Be-

* 'Tis the peculiar Glory of Man, (ſays Mr. *Norris*) to be an *amorous*, as well as a rational Being. *Miſcel.* 8*vo*, p. 325.——And accordingly he elſewhere compares this amorous *Biaſs* and Endeavour of the Soul to that ſtock of Motion, which the *French* Philoſopher ſuppoſes the Univerſe at firſt endow'd with, which continues always at the ſame rate, not to be abated or increaſed; not that this Equality of Love is to be underſtood in reference to *particular* Objects, any more than that of Motion to particular Bodies; but only, that it gains in one part, as much as it loſes in another. *Miſcel.* p. 296.

lieve me, *Philemon*, *Enthuſiaſm* has been more indebted for Converts to the Quarter of *diſappointed Love*, than to any other whatſoever. *Affectionate* Tempers muſt *ſettle* ſomewhere. If they find not the expected *Returns* of their Paſſion upon *Earth*, nothing more common than for them to take Refuge in *Heaven*. And if the Expreſſion might not be cenſured as too bold, I would add, to ſollicite the *Deity* with as much Warmth, and in a great degree of the ſame *kind*, as they did before a *Miſtreſs* *.

* St. *Auſtin* is by no means a ſingle Inſtance of a reformed Debauchee becoming a very eminent Devotionaliſt: magnâ ex parte atque vehementer Conſuetudo ſatiandæ inſatiabilis Concupiſcentiæ me captum excruciabat, is his own Account of himſelf in the beginning of Life, (Conf. lib. 6. cap. 12.) And if we examine him after his Converſion, we ſhall not perhaps find him ſo very different a Man, as may be imagined at firſt thought.—— Deſcendat Domine, deſcendat precor, deſcendat in cor meum odor tui ſuaviſſimus, ingrediatur amor tui mellifluus, veniat mihi tui ſaporis mira & inenarrabilis fragrantia, quæ ſempiternas in me ſuſcitet concupiſcentias——And elſewhere, amplectar te ſponſe cœleſtis, amplectar te bono, ſine quo nihil bonum, fruar te optimo, ſine quo nihil optimum; and again, prope eſto in corde, quia amore langueo——quare faciem tuam avertis? eja, Domine, moriar ut te videam——are ſtrains of Piety no ways unſuitable to his original Character. The *Devoto*, we ſee, need not change either his Style, or his Sentiments, as a *Lover*; all he has to do is to apply them *anew*.

So

So that, you ſuppoſe, (ſaid I,) their *Inamorato-Character* ſubſiſts the ſame as ever, only it has taken a *Religious turn.* Their Paſſion is transferred from mere *Mortals* to a *ſpiritual* and *divine* Object, and *Love* in them is ſublimated into *Devotion.*

UNDOUBTEDLY *Philemon*, (reſumed he) that is the very Truth of their Caſe. Their *Inamorato-Character*, as you have well obſerved, enters into and tinctures their *Religion* itſelf. Their *Devotion* is only a *different Modification* of their *ruling Paſſion.* They cannot be ſaid to act upon any juſt and rational Principle, becauſe their Turn of Character is not *conſiſtent*, and of a *piece* with itſelf. They ſubſtitute one Part of Religion for the Whole: And as if all Duties were comprehended in thoſe of the *Cloſet*, ſuffer a fond Attachment to the rapturous Exerciſes of a recluſe and ſolitary Piety to take place to the excluſion of a more active and uſeful Virtue. They ſpend ſo much of their Time in Prayer and Retirement, as to leave themſelves neither Leiſure nor Inclination to attend to the ordinary Offices of civil and ſocial Life. In ſhort, they act as if it was the only genuine Teſt of true *Love* to *God*, to affect an intirely *uſeleſs* Character with regard to *Men.*

THERE

THERE cannot ſurely, (I interrupted) be conceiv'd a more unworthy and degrading Apprehenſion of the *Divine Being*, than to imagine Him more pleas'd with the ungovern'd Sallies of *devout Phrenzy*, the wild Tranſports of an heated *Enthuſiaſm*, than with the rational, ſober, and manly Exerciſe of true and ſubſtantial *Virtue*, *Goodneſs*, and *Benevolence*.

I am entirely, (returned he) of your opinion, *Philemon*; the only rational way of recommending ourſelves to the Deity, is by imitating him as far as we are able; and there is nothing by which we approach to a *nearer* Reſemblance of him, than by an *active*, and *diffuſive* Goodneſs. But the *ſober* Purſuits of an unaffected Virtue are too *remiſs* and *lifeleſs* an Employment for ſuch *warm* and *ſanguine* Tempers as we have been ſpeaking of. To ſerve God by *doing good* to Men, will not anſwer their Purpoſe: Their Paſſion is towards an *ecſtatic* Species of Religion, a Religion, like themſelves, made up of *Heat* and *Flame*.

HERE I could not forbear expreſſing to *Hortenſius* how much pleaſed I was with the Account he had been giving me of this *amorous* Turn in Religion. I had often, (I obſerved to him) met with People of a *religious*

religious Character, who ſeemed to place *all* Religion in a particular Warmth, and Strictneſs of *Devotion*; but I never yet had traced this *over-devout Humour* to it's true Source. I never thought of reſolving it into a *Conſtitutional* Prejudice, into the *particular* Make and Caſt of their *natural* Temper.

BELIEVE me, *Philemon*, (reſumed he) the more you reflect upon theſe *Devotee-Characters*, the more you will be inclined to do ſo——Do but conſult your own Obſervation and Experience, I dare be confident you never knew an Inſtance of a *thorow Devotee* in Religion, whom you had not great reaſon to ſuſpect to be in *other* reſpects a Perſon of a *warm* and *paſſionate* Diſpoſition.

FOR my part, (ſaid I) *Hortenſius*, I have always avoided, as much as poſſible, entering into the Familiarities of People of this ſtamp. They are generally ſpeaking a moroſe untractable Set of Mortals, and 'tis well for the *reſt* of the World that their Principle leads them to have but little to *do* with it. But now that you have ſuggeſted the Obſervation to me, amongſt ſuch as I have ever had an Opportunity of knowing any thing of, I really think I have diſcovered the greateſt part to be People of *ſtrong Paſ-*

ſions,

ſions. 'Tis a Character one does not often meet with in *Men*; it prevails, I have obſerved, much more generally in the *Female* World.

IT does ſo, *Philemon*, (ſaid he) and from the Principles we have laid down, you cannot but be ſenſible, if you will reflect a little, how natural it is that it *ſhould.* Women, you know, 'tis generally agreed, exceed *us* in the Strength of their *Paſſions.* What wonder is it then that they are more inclined to the *paſſionate* Species of Religion? That they ſurpaſs us particularly in the *ſofter* Paſſions is ſo notorious, that the Epithet *ſoft* is from thence frequently made uſe of in common Language as *Characteriſtical* of the very Sex.

IT is ſo, (ſaid I) and it is remarkable, that this *Softneſs* is ſo eſſential an Ingredient in the *Female* Conſtitution, that if at any time we diſcover an undue Prevalency of the *rougher Paſſions* in any particular Inſtance, we are naturally led to take the *Odium* of it to *ourſelves*; endeavouring to diſguiſe, as it were, the *Truth* of the Sex, and ſtiling ſuch Characters *Maſculine.*

THIS is a piece of Complaiſance, (ſaid *Hortenſius*) for which the *Fair Sex* is obliged to us; but it evidently proceeds upon this ſettled

ſettled Acknowledgment on our parts, that the moſt *natural* and *approved* ſtate of *Female* Minds is to abound with the *tenderer* Paſſions. Now this Point being once admitted, 'tis but to give a *Religious Turn* to this *natural Softneſs*, and you have the compleat Image of a *Female Devotionaliſt*.

It is well (I obſerved) that you have ſecured the *ſofter* Paſſions their Proportion in this ſort of Characters, by aſſigning them their Office in *Religion*. If you had not contrived them an Exiſtence *there*, it would be difficult for the moſt part to find any other *Salvo* for them.

I am pretty much of your opinion, (returned he) but 'tis no wonder they who are ſo thorowly enamoured of *Heaven* ſhould eſteem it a kind of *Profanation* to admit any mere *earthly* Object into a *Partnerſhip* in the *tender* Affections.

But how, (I interpoſed) do you account, *Hortenſius*, for the *ſofter* Paſſions firſt taking this *Religious Turn?* You cannot always reſolve it, as you did juſt now in the Inſtance of *Sebaſtius*, into a *Diſappointment* in *Love*. I am ſure I could mention ſome *Female Devotees* of my Acquaintance who never can have experienced a *Diſappointment* of *this* ſort. I am ſtrangely

miſtaken if ever they had an Application of *this* nature made to them. *The Man muſt have had Parts*, as Dr. *Young* expreſſes it, *who could find Deſtruction there* *.

In ſtating your Queſtion, (replied he) *Philemon*, you have unawares ſuggeſted the Anſwer to it—that *very* Circumſtance you but now hinted at, the want of *timely* Application from *our* Sex, unravels the whole *Myſtery* of the matter at once. 'Tis all one as to the Point I am concern'd to maintain, whether the *tender* Paſſions have *never* had an Opportunity to fix themſelves, or have been violently *torn* from the beloved Object after they had once been fixed there. Either way they will be alike reſtrained from their *due* Scope and Exerciſe. And if no *natural* Object preſents itſelf at a *proper* Seaſon, they will be apt to carve out for themſelves an *imaginary* and *artificial* one †.

* Univerſal Paſſion, Sat. vi. p. 137.

† *Montagne* has a Chapter in his Eſſays upon this very Topic; "that our Affections diſcharge themſelves upon falſe Objects, where the true ones are "wanting." One Inſtance, which he gives from *Plutarch*, is of that Paſſion which ſome People ſhew to Dogs and other Animals. Plutarch dit à propos, (ſays he) de ceux qui s'affectionnent aux guenons & petits chiens, que la partie amoureuſe qui eſt en nous, à faute de priſe legitime, plutot que de demeurer en vain s'en forge ainſi une fauſſe & frivole. *Eſſais*, chap. iv. liv. 1.

THIS ſeems to account (ſaid I) for a Remark I have ſometimes made, that the moſt *ſtanch* Female Devotees are to be met with in the *ſingle* State, and that too after ſome *moderate* Advancement in Life.

IT did ſo, (he allowed) and it would account likewiſe for another thing which I might poſſibly have had occaſion to obſerve, that where this Turn of Mind happens to prevail, as it *ſometimes* does, in the conjugal Eſtate, 'tis generally after that State has proved *unhappy*. A repeated Series of Injuries and ill Treatment weans the *Affections* of the ſlighted Party from an Object ſhe has experienc'd to be ſo undeſerving of them; and when once the *natural* Engagement is thus forcibly deſtroy'd, 'tis odds but ſome *amorous Species* of a *higher* kind ſtrikes in at this *critical* Conjuncture; the Flame breaks out anew at ſome more *hallowed* Shrine, and mere *human Love* refines itſelf into *ſeraphic Rapture*.

I believe, (replied I) in the general you may be in the right. Yet I have known ſome Women ſtrongly addicted to this *devout* Paſſion, who have never been driven to take refuge in it by any ill Uſage from the part of their Huſbands. The *natural* Object, to uſe your Expreſſion, has been

ſufficiently worthy of their tendereſt Affections, and yet they have thought fit *wholly* to beſtow them upon the *artificial*. Inſomuch that their time has been in a manner divided between the alternate Returns of Devotion towards *Heaven*, and of a general Diſplicence and Peeviſhneſs towards *every thing beſides*. They have been for ever in a fit of *Prayer*, or of *Ill-Humour*.

I am aware, (reſumed *Hortenſius*) this is a Caſe that does ſometimes happen, tho' not ſo frequently as thoſe others we have mention'd. One may not always be able to diſtinguiſh particularly from *whence* the *amorous* Paſſion took the *Religious* Turn we have been ſpeaking of; yet from the general *Reaſon* of the thing one may be very confident, that, by ſome means or other, it muſt have done *ſo*. Perhaps in the particular Caſe laſt given the *fair-Inamorato* might have imbibed the *devout Paſſion* as it were with her very Mother's *Milk*. She was *bred* up to it from her Infancy. The *Turn* of her Inſtruction, her Reading, her Converſation lay all *this* way. She was ſo early accuſtomed to ſee *Devotion* ſubſtituted for *Religion*, that ſhe has inſenſibly catched the *ſame* Spirit and Turn of Thinking. She has practiſed this *devotional Habit* ſo long till ſhe is become thorowly *inamoured* of it;

it is wrought into her very *Make*, and *natural Conſtitution.* At leaſt it may be affirmed in general, that the Partiality and inconſiſtent Turn of ſuch *devotionaliſt-Characters* as we have been deſcribing, cannot be any-wiſe accounted for upon a *rational footing.* The true Riſe and Source of them lies in the *Paſſions:* They are reſolvible only into the prevailing Influence of the *natural* Temper inſinuating itſelf, to the deception of the very Parties *themſelves*, into the *Make* and *Complexion* of their Religion. Inſomuch that whilſt theſe *raptur'd Inamoratos* imagine they are paying homage to the *Divinity*, they are in reality but worſhipping the *Idol* of their *own Inclinations.* They are a ſort of *religious Debauchees*, if one may be pardoned ſuch an Expreſſion, who have found out the Art of reconciling *Grace* and *Nature*, *Piety* and *Senſuality.* In the midſt of all their Pretenſions to an uncommon Strictneſs and Sanctity, they are only exerciſing a more refined, and diſguiſed ſort of *Self-Indulgence.* Their Religion is only a more ſpecions Pretext for the fuller Gratification of ſome of their *warmeſt Appetites*, their *Devotion* but a more *exquiſite* and *ſpiritualized Concupiſcence.* To confirm this Account to you yet farther, *Philemon*, do but conſider with your ſelf in how *amorous* a Stile moſt of our

our Books of Devotion, as they are called, are written *.

I had often (I ſaid) obſerved it, and had been extremely ſhocked at it. It was a manner of Addreſs, I thought, much fitter for a *diſſolute Lover*, than for a *religious Worſhipper*.

THEY are, (returned he) for the moſt part the Compoſitions of that ſort of People we have been deſcribing; and indeed they

* Up my *Soul*, become an humble *Spouſe* of the Lord *Jeſus*; feed thy ſelf with his *Beauty*, make him thy *Darling*, receive him into thy *Boſom*, quench thy *Thirſt* with his *Blood*, hold him *faſt*, do not let him go—Horneck's *Fire of the Altar*, p. 33. O lovely *Bridegroom* of my *Soul*, *wound my Heart*, that it may be ſick of *Love*, p. 34. as above.

Let me ſtay and entertain my *longing* Soul with the Contemplation of thy *Beauty*, till thou ſhalt condeſcend to *kiſs me with the Kiſſes of thy Mouth*, till thou ſhalt bring me into thy *Banquetting-Houſe*. Norris's *Miſcel.* 12°. p. 358. My God, my Happineſs, who *art fairer than the Children of Men*, *draw me*, *and I will run after thee*——Wound me *deep*, and ſtrike me *thro'* with the Arrows of a divine *Paſſion*, p. 261. as before.

O *Banquet* of *Love*, heavenly ſweet, let my *Bowels* be *refreſhed* by *thee*, my *inward* Parts *overflow* with the *Nectar* of thy *Love*. St. Auſtin's *Medit.* tranſlated by *Stanhope*, p. 258, and at large.——My *deareſt Lord*, when ſhall I *enjoy* and talk with *thee alone*, in Language *ſoft* and *tender*, *ſweet* and *charming*, as the *unreſerved Retirements*, and *endearing Whiſpers* of the moſt *paſſionate Lovers?* Thomas a Kempis, tranſlated by *Stanhope*, p. 325, and at large——Biſhop *Taylor*'s Devotional Works, at large—Auguſtini Confeſſ. paſſim.

carry

carry in them too *evident* Indications of the *Temper* and *Character* of their *Authors*, to be ſuppoſed to come from any other quarter. What elſe are they, but the *wanton* Exerciſes of a *warm Imagination*, and a *luſcious Fancy?* Such as evidence beyond all other proofs the Genius and Complexion of that Species of Religion, where *Warmth* of *Conſtitution*, not *Reaſon*, has the chief and ſovereign Influence. Inſtead of ſpeaking the Language of a ſerious, rational, unaffected Piety, they abound wholly with rapturous Flights of *unhallow'd Love*, and Strains of *myſtical Diſſoluteneſs*. They *pollute* the Soul with *luſcious* Images, warm it into irregular Ferments, and fire it with a falſe Paſſion; diſſipating all due Compoſure, and Recollection of Mind, and laying open the Heart to all the *wild Extravagances* of frantic *Enthuſiaſm*. 'Tis for this Reaſon, *Philemon*, that *Women* in general are ſo much taken with this kind of Writings, that the far greateſt part of *female* Religion is nothing elſe but the *multiplied Uſe* of theſe devout Formularies; they ſute, beyond all others, their *natural Warmth* of Temper, and Conſtitution.

It is *this* way of thinking and talking in Religion (ſaid I,) that, I ſuppoſe, has given riſe to what is called *Myſtical Theology*,

logy, the Teachers whereof have accordingly been ſtiled *Myſtics*.

IT is ſo, (replied *Hortenſius*) the more modern *Platoniſts* *, and ſome fanciful *Schoolmen* ſeem to have led the way in this *Myſtical* Syſtem; in which they have been ſince followed by too many whimſical enthuſiaſtic Writers of *later* times, as well in our own, as foreign Communions, Papiſts, and Proteſtants, Churchmen, and Diſſenters. A Syſtem it is, *Philemon*, of the moſt *luſcious* and *unintelligible* Jargon that even the *Wildneſs* of *Enthuſiaſm* itſelf could ever deviſe †. The true Spirit of accep-

* Dict. de Monſ. *Bayle*, Tom. 3. p. 760. Art. K. quat. Ed. à *Amſterdam*. Ne voilà-t'il pas la Voie unitive dont les Myſtiques nous parlent tant? ne peut-on par les accuſer d'être plagiaires des Platoniciens?

† The following Scale of the Aſcent of the Soul to God, given us from the myſtic Writers by no leſs a Perſon than Mr. *Norris*, is well worth tranſcribing. It conſiſts of 15 Degrees. The firſt is Intuition of Truth. The 2d a Retirement of all the Vigor and Strength of the Faculties into the innermoſt Parts of the Soul; the 3d is ſpiritual Silence; 4 is Reſt; 5 is Union; 6 is hearing of the ſtill Voice of God; 7 is ſpiritual Slumber; 8 is Extaſy; 9 is Rapture; 10 is the corporeal Appearance of Chriſt and the Saints; 11 is the imaginary Appearance of the ſame; 12 is the intellectual Viſion of God; 13 is the Viſion of God in Obſcurity; 14 is an admirable Manifeſtation of God; 15 is a clear and intuitive Viſion of him, ſuch as St. *Auſtin*, and *Thomas Aquinas* attribute to St. *Paul*, when he was rapt up into the third Heaven.—Others of them reckon 7 Degrees only, *viz.* Taſte, Deſire, Satiety, Ebriety, Security, Tran-

acceptable Religion, which is in its own nature a *liberal* and *reaſonable Service*, is here made wholly to *evaporate* in *unnatural* Heats, and *extatic* Fervors, ſuch as *ſoberer* Minds are altogether Strangers to; and which are indeed a Diſgrace, and Reproach to the Dignity of a *Rational* Nature. And yet, *Philemon*, ſo intoxicating are theſe fanciful Refinements, that when warm Heads have once given thorowly into them, they fondly delude themſelves that they are arrived at the very higheſt Degrees of ſpiritual *Improvement*, have reached the *Perfection* and *Heroiſm*, as it were, of Piety; and are in a manner *already* inſtated in the Joys and Privileges of Heaven, by a kind of *preſent Senſe*, and *Anticipation* of them upon Earth *.

THAT

Tranquillity; but the name of the 7th, they ſay, is known only to God. *Norr.* Miſcel. 12°. p. 333, 334. Abſurd and ſenſeleſs!—The ſame Myſtic State is thus repreſented by Biſhop *Taylor*—It is, ſays he, a Prayer of Quietneſs and Silence, and a Meditation extraordinary; a Diſcourſe without Variety, a Viſion and Intuition of Divine Excellencies, an immediate Entry into an Orb of Light, and a Reſolution of all our Faculties into *Sweetneſs*, *Affections*, and *Starings* upon the divine *Beauty*; and is carried on to Extaſys, Raptures, Suſpenſions, Elevations, Abſtractions, and Apprehenſions beatifical—Great Exemplar, p. 60. One can underſtand *nothing elſe* in all this Deſcription but the extreme *Luſciouſneſs* of it.

* Mr. *Norris* expreſſly calls this State of *myſtical* and *abſtracted* Devotion *divine Virtue*, in diſtinction from *moral*, or *civil Virtue*. The *latter*, he ſays, is a

THAT they may likely enough be, (interpos'd I) according to the *groſs* Conceptions they appear to entertain of the Nature, and Employments of that Place. For by the *luſcious* Deſcriptions which they generally give of it, one would rather imagine it to be a *ſenſual*, or *Mahometan Paradiſe*, than a *Heaven* of *rational Beings* *.

YOU are much in the right, *Philemon*, (ſaid he) that ſame *Myſtic Union* in which they place the *Perfection* of all Piety here, and the *Completion* of Beatitude hereafter, if it was not for that *natural Air* of Gra-

State of *Proficiency*, the former of *Perfection*; even the *laſt Stage* of human *Perfection*, the *utmoſt round* of the Ladder whereby we aſcend to *Heaven*; one ſtep *higher* is *Glory*. Miſc. *p.* 331, 332. So alſo, *p.* 339. a certain *Preguſtation* of *Glory*, an *Antepaſt* of *Felicity*, the Mount of God's *Preſence*, the Privilege of *angelical* Diſpoſitions, and an *excellent* Religion, a divine *Repaſt*, a *Feaſt* of *Love*———

* Norr. *Miſcel.* p. 323, *&c.* "The Fruition of "God is to be reſolved, ſays this Author, partly into "*Viſion*, and partly into *Love!* theſe are the two *Arms* "with which we *embrace* the Divinity, and unite our "Souls to the *fair*-one, and the *good*." Miſcell. 8vo. p. 412. And accordingly he elſewhere prays to be admitted to this beatific State in theſe Words, "I "*beſeech thee ſhew me thy Glory*; withdraw thy Hand "from the *Clift* of the Rock, and remove the *Bounds* "from the *Mount* of thy Preſence, that I may ſee "thee as thou art, face to face, and ever dwell in the "light of thy *Beauty*." p. 323. Thomas à Kempis, St. Auſt. *Med.* and *Conf.* at large.

vity

vity with which they always talk of it, might paſs for the moſt *wanton* and *profane* Drollery *. But as ludicrous an Appearance as it carries with it at firſt ſight, it is in reality a very ſerious Evil at the bottom. For it tends to miſlead Men's Minds from the *true Point* both of their Duty, and Happineſs, when they bring themſelves to acquieſce in ſuch *falſe* and *miſtaken* Subſtitutes of them. And accordingly this we have more than once obſerved to be the Caſe in *Fact* of theſe *Inamorato's* in Religion, that they are ſo much taken up with their own fanciful Abſtractions, as to regard the whole Circle of civil and ſocial Duties with great *Coolneſs*, and *Indifferency*. Theſe are *low*, and *groveling* Purſuits; unworthy the Attention of People ſo much *better* employ'd as they are †! And indeed how

* In all the Courſe of virtuous Meditation the Soul is like a *Virgin* invited to make a *matrimonial Contract*; it inquires into the Condition of the Perſon, his Eſtate and Diſpoſition, and other Circumſtances of *Amability* and *Deſire:* but when ſhe is ſatisfied with theſe Inquiries, and hath choſen her *Husband*, ſhe no more conſiders *Particulars*, but is moved by his *Voice* and *Geſture*, and runs to his *Entertainment* and *Fruition*, and *ſpends* herſelf wholly in *Affections*, not to *obtain*, but *injoy* his *Love*. Great Exemplar. *p.* 60.——

† As to the *ſocial* Duties, 'tis an Obſervation too common in Experience, that the *forwardeſt Pietiſts* are very often People of the *weakeſt* and moſt *narrowed Benevolence*. A *Foreign Author*, ſpeaking of certain *Religious Perſons* who affected a more than ordinary

how can it be expected, that *ſuch* whoſe fond Imaginations have already exalted them to *Heaven*, ſhould condeſcend to act their Part with any tolerable patience upon ſo much *lower* a Scene as this of *Earth?* What Motive can *they* have who are already in ſome degree admitted to the *Beatific*

ſtrictneſs and warmth of *Devotion*, tells us that, among many other abſurd and unnatural Refinements they boaſted of in their *devout Paroxyſms*, one was the feeling of certain *Aſpirationes Miſanthropicas:* by which, I ſuppoſe, we are to underſtand a certain *diſdain* of the *low* Purſuits and Offices of a *mere human mortal Condition.* But I am afraid it would be *equally* true in *another* Senſe, that their *Flights* of *divine Rapture* were attended with theſe *Aſpirationes Miſanthropicas*; meaning thereby a certain *Weakneſs* of *natural Affection*, a *Coolneſs*, and *Diſplicence* of Mind towards their *Fellow-Creatures*, which Pretences of *ſuperior Piety* do too often betray Men into. See *Bayle*'s Dict. p. 95. under Art. *Rovenius* Letter A. vol. IV. See alſo Letters between Mr. *Norris*, and the Author of the Propoſal to the Ladies concerning the *Love of God*, where 'tis a *Principle* on *both ſides* agreed to, that the *Love* of *God* ought to *exclude* all other *inferior Complacencies.* Now where a *Love* of *Complacency* is quite *excluded*, *Love* of *Benevolence* ſeldom *operates* very *ſtrongly.* See this Notion well expoſed in *Hutcheſon*'s Illuſtrations, *&c.* p. 329. to the end.——This unnatural Paradox in Divinity, ſo much a Favourite with Mr. *Norris*, that it is introduced at every turn in almoſt all his Writings, was a Conſequence of his enthuſiaſtic Philoſophy of our ſeeing all things in God; a Leſſon which he learnt from the celebrated Father *Malbranche*, and very induſtriouſly inculcated upon his female Correſpondent, who being of a Temper too ſevere to reliſh any thing eaſy or natural; and having poſſeſs'd in an eminent degree the *Gift of Infrigidation*, which Mr. *Bayle* ſomewhere ſpeaks of,

tific Preſence of their *Maker* *, to endeavour after any farther Qualifications for that purpoſe? at leaſt, if any *nearer* Advances were to be made this way, yet how much *nobler* a Field of Exerciſe to the devout and aſpiring Soul are the *ſeraphic* Entertainments of *Myſticiſm* and *Extaſy* than the mean and ordinary Practice of a mere *earthly* and *common* Virtue †.

THESE

of, was well inclined to embrace a Doctrine which diſavowed all Love to any Creature, under colour of which, ſhe could in ſome meaſure revenge the Diſregard ſhewn to her by *Mankind*; towards whom her Writings bear a moſt implacable averſion. See particularly her Reflect. upon Marriage. To what an extravagance of Severity her Temper carried her, let the following more than *Stoical* Rant bear witneſs—'I be-'lieve 'twere eaſy to demonſtrate, that Martyrdom is 'the *higheſt Pleaſure* a rational Creature is capable of 'in this preſent State. Letters, page 31. What pity is it this Advocate for the *Pleaſure* of Martyrdom, did not live in the earlier Ages of the Chriſtian Church, when Racks, and Faggots, and Pitch-barrels were no unuſual *Entertainments?*

* Perſons eminently Religious are *divina patientes*, *Pathics* in *Devotion*, ſuffering *Raviſhments* of *Senſes*, tranſported beyond the Uſes of *Humanity* into the *Suburbs* of beatifical Apprehenſions. *Great Exemplar.* p. 61. Thrice happy Soul that canſt look thro' the Veil, and notwithſtanding that thick Cloud of Creatures that obſcures thy View, diſcern him that is inviſible, live in the light of his Countenance all the time of thy ſojourning here, and at laſt, pure and defecate, with a Kiſs of thy *Beloved*, breath out thy ſelf into his ſacred Boſom. Letters as above, p. 180.

† This is what Biſhop *Taylor* degradingly calls *Virtue* and preciſe *Duty*, as if thoſe *Ecſtatic* and *Devotional*

Tranſports

THESE are glaring Pretences, *Philemon*; and 'tis no wonder they ſhould paſs current with People of weaker Judgments under the ſacred Stamp of true Piety. But that Men of ſuperior Senſe and Diſcernment in all *other* reſpects, ſhould ſo far impoſe upon themſelves by a Set of pompous and empty Sounds, would really be unaccountable, but that we have before obſerved, that the ground of this Deluſion lies not originally in Men's *Underſtandings*, but in their *Paſſions*; which caſt a ſtrange Suffuſion over the plaineſt Truths, and keep them in an intire Ignorance of themſelves, and of the *true Motives* of their own Actions. For whence elſe can it proceed, that theſe *myſtical* Refiners do not ſee thro' the *Cheat* they are in reality practiſing upon themſelves? Whence elſe do they not diſcern, that their boaſted Exerciſes of a more exalted Piety are but the *artful* Diſguiſes of their *natural*

Tranſports of Zeal were a kind of *Supererogation* in Piety—and yet tho' this Author ſeems willing enough to give theſe *latter* the preference in point of *Excellence* and *Dignity*, he owns at the ſame time that the greater *ſafety* lies on the ſide of a more *common* and *ordinary* Virtue. For that "many *Illuſions* have come "in the Likeneſs of *Viſions*, and abſurd *Fancies* under "the pretence of *Raptures*, &c." And again, "So *un*-"*ſatisfying* a thing is Rapture and Tranſportation to "the Soul; it often *diſtracts* the Faculties, but ſeldom "does advantage Piety, and is full of Danger in the "greateſt of its Luſtre." *Great Exemp.* p. 61.

natural Temper, which indulges it's *own Warmth* under the pretext of *devout Fervours?* Whence elſe ſhould they not be ſenſible, that their *Prayers* are the very Language of their *wantoneſt Appetites* and *Wiſhes?* the Effuſions of a Breaſt heated with extravagant Paſſion, and giving vent to Fires of a *groſſer* kind in fancied *purer* Flames of *divine Love*, and *ſpiritual Rapture**.

AND

* For a taſte of this Inamorato-Devotion read the following Paſſage in the 35th Chap. of St. *Auſtin*'s Meditations, and thence judge whether he did not borrow many of his devout Ideas from his unregenerate State; from anno illo decimo ſexto ætatis Carnis meæ, (which he himſelf ſpeaks of in his Confeſſions, Book 1. Ch. 2.) cum accepit in me ſceptrum, et totas manus ei dedi veſaniæ libidinis——O Love of Sweetneſs; O Sweetneſs of Love, that doſt not torment, but delight, that doſt always burn, and are never extinct, ſweet Chriſt, good Jeſus, my God, my Love, kindle me all over with thy Fire, with the Love of thee, with thy Sweetneſs, thy Joy, thy Pleaſure and *Concupiſcence*, that being all full of the Sweetneſs of thy Love, all on fire with the flame of thy Charity, I may love thee, my God, with my whole Heart, and with all the Power of my inward Parts, (totis medullis præcordiorum meorum in the original, a much ſtronger Expreſſion) having thee in my Heart, in my Mouth, and before my Eyes always and every where. Deus Lumen cordis mei, et panis oris intus animæ meæ, et *virtus maritans mentem meam*, et *ſinum cogitationis meæ*, non te amabam, et *fornicabar* abs te. *Confeſſionum*, Lib. 1. cap. 13. May one not apply here what he elſewhere ſays, Recordari volo tranſactas fæditates meas, et carnales corruptiones, ut amem te, Deus meus. *Con.* lib. 2. cap. 1 Sure he has here abundantly tranſcribed from them into his Devotions.

And indeed upon better Reflection, conſidering from *what* Cauſes the Diſtemper of Mind we are here ſpeaking of, takes it's riſe, Men of *ſuperior Parts*, a *livelier Imagination*, and more *refined Genius*, ſeem of all others to be moſt in danger of it. For *they*, 'tis well known, are *generally* obſerved to be of that ſort of *Temperament* which is the moſt *natural* Soil for *Enthuſiaſm* to ſpring up in. The ſuperior Fineneſs and Delicacy of their Make gives a more than ordinary *Edge* and *Keenneſs* to all their *Paſſions*, thoſe eſpecially of the *tender amorous* kind. Now the *ecſtatic* Habit is in a peculiar degree infectious to this ſort of Conſtitution. *Devotion*, according to the *myſtic* Notion of it, is a kind of *natural Relief* to the Cravings and Importunities of ſome of *theſe* Men's *eagereſt Deſires*, which they may indulge in the freeſt manner without Limit or Reluctancy; not only with no danger to their Innocence, but even with conſiderable Advantage, as is imagined, to their *ſpiritual Eſtate*. It does, as the ingenious Satiriſt you was quoting not long ſince, ſpeaks upon another Occaſion,

*Relieve their Wants, and ſpare their Bluſhes too**.

It is admirably contriv'd to *allay* certain irregular and uneaſy Ferments in the *Blood* and

* *Univerſal Paſſion*, Sat. 6. page 140.

and *animal Spirits* to which this ſort of *Temperament* is peculiarly ſubject, which might otherwiſe ſollicit a Remedy of a *coarſer* kind. Thoſe Heats of *Paſſion* which in an inferior Claſs of Senſualiſts would excite to Amours of a more *humble* and *ordinary* ſtrain, in theſe *myſtic* Lovers are thrown off in *ſeraphic Ardors*, and break out in theſe *ſpiritual Debaucheries* *.

A

* Such certainly we muſt eſteem their Uniones cum Deo, (of which we are told by *Rovenius* they are uſed to boaſt) cum uniantur proprio, ſi non pejori ſpiritui; their Tranſubſtantiationes myſticas: Cordis concentrationes: Potentiarum, imo omnis ſui eſſe, annihilationem; Connubium eſſentiæ creatæ & divinitatis: ſpirituale Sacramentum inſeparabilitatis: Somnium omnium affectionum: Abſorptionem & liquefactionem in amplexu ſponſi: Triplicem animæ hierarchiam: Orationem in quiete paſſivâ: Ebrietatem ſpiritualem: cordis ſilentium: Meditationes negativas: Uniones ſupereſſentiales: Puteum & gurgitem annihilationis: Amorem deificum, transformantem, unientem, ſtringentem, amplexantem; Suavitatem cor auferentem, ſugentem ſponſi ubera, ruminantem collum: Abſorbentem enthuſiaſmum; Inſenſibilitatem & oblivionem omnium inducentem: Abyſſalem cum Deo identificationem: Confricationem deificam, incendentem, & conſumentem Cor: Elevationem ad ſuavitatem cœleſtem ex infernali languore: Introverſionem ſuper-cœleſtem: Caliginem & umbram Dei: Allocutiones internas, Elevationes incognitas, Extenſiones & Applicationes *amoroſas:* Animæ ſuſpenſiones, deliquium, ſuſpiria: Mortem ſenſuum & omnium affectuum, ecſtaſim continuam, juſtitium ratiocinii: Cordis contactum & patefactionem: liquefactionem, influxum, inflammationem: Aſſultus qui ferri nequeant: Penetrationes ad intima: Vulnerationes, conſtrictiones, al-

A *Debauch* in *Religion*, (ſaid I) is a *Paradox* I never before heard of; and yet methinks by the help of your Preparations, *Hortenſius*, I begin to digeſt it pretty readily. You have taught me, that it is not merely poſſible in *Idea*, but that in *Fact* there is as great a *Biaſs* this way *in Spirituals* in the Conſtitutions of ſome People, as in others there is obſerved to be in *common Life*. But after all, if this *myſtical* kind of Debauchery be rather the more abſurd and extravagant, it is certainly the leſs criminal than that which is more ordinarily practiſed in the World *. And to ſay

ligationes inſeparabiles: Aſpectus penetrantes & oblectantes, Voces tremulas, Murmura columbina: Guſtus ſuaviſſimos, Odores gratiſſimos, Auditus melodiæ cœleſtis, Hypermyſticas Dei & Animæ perichoreſes: Impudentiam ſpiritualem, aſpirationes miſanthropicas, ignem ſine carbone, flammam ſine corpore: Holocauſtum meridianum in viſcerali & medullari penetrabilitate: Contactum mirabilem & ſuaviſſimum, obſcuræ noctis gaudia, & caliginem:—hæc & ſimilia ſeſquipedalia verba in novâ Pietatis ſcholâ inter ſponte electos Magiſtros, & Diſcipulas curioſas, adeo frequenter tenero proferuntur palato, ut intimis in viſceribus ſentiantur. *Rovenius* de Repub. Chriſtianâ Lib I. cap. 43. p. 278. *Bayle*'s Dict. p. 95. Letter A. under Art. *Rovenius*, Tom. IV.

* It has ſometimes been ſo contrived by the more *expert* Maſters in the *myſtic Science*, that both ſorts have been practiſed at the *ſame* time, the one being made uſe of to introduce or facilitate the Execution of the other. Thoſe who have been moſt forward to propagate theſe *myſtical* Doctrines, have not always been *them-*

ſay the truth, conſidering that it takes off the Mind from much worſe Purſuits, which the ſame *natural Warmth* of Temper and Conſtitution would in all probability betray theſe *amorous Devotees* into, were it not for ſuch a *ſpiritual Application*; I do not ſee but it might paſs without much Cenſure, as rather a Weakneſs, than a Fault in them; but that, as you have obſerved, whilſt it reſtrains them from ſome more vicious Exceſſes, it is too apt to divert their Attention from many more noble and uſeful Virtues, which are the proper Buſineſs, and I may add, the moſt diſtinguiſhing Ornaments too, of their preſent State *. THIS

themſelves the moſt *ſpiritually minded*. The pretences of *Quietiſm*, and of a more *ſublime* and *abſtracted Devotion*, have ſometimes been employ'd to very groſs and carnal Purpoſes, and the *myſtic Union* has brought about a *Union* not altogether ſo *myſterious*. See Monſieur *Bayle*'s Dict. pag. 300. vol. 3. who there relates at large an *Adventure* much to our purpoſe; in concluſion he has this Reflection—Je me contente d'aſſûrer qu'il y a beaucoup d'apparence, que quelques-uns de ces dévots ſi ſpirituels, qui font eſpérer qu'une forte Méditation, ravira l'Ame, & l'empêchera de s'appercevoir des Actions du Corps, ſe propoſent de patiner impunément leurs dévotes, & de faire encore pis. C'eſt de quoi l'on accuſe les Molinoſiſtes. En general, il n'y a rien de plus dangereux pour l'eſprit, que les dévotions trop myſtiques, & trop quinteſſenciées, & ſans doute le Corps y court quelques riſques, & pleuſieurs y veulent bien être trompez.

* 'Tis a ſevere, but I am afraid no unjuſt Satire upon this ſort of Characters, what Monſieur *Bayle* obſerves

THIS is one of its worſt effects, (returned *Hortenſius*) but it has ſeveral other very miſchievous ones. Particularly, it gives great and ſignal Diſcouragement to the general Practice of Piety in the World, by expoſing it to *Ridicule*, and the Charge of *affected* Singularity. On the one hand, it throws many honeſt and well-meaning, but weaker Minds into a *Deſpair* of ever ſucceed-

of Mademoiſelle *Bourignon*, a noted Pretender to a more than ordinary Piety in her time——Elle a eut ceia de commun avec tous les Devots, qu'elle a été d'une humeur *bilieuſe* & *chagrin*——Fœminam duram, immitem, pervicacem, ſtomachabundam, rixoſam, are Compliments Monſieur *de Seckendorf* makes her upon the Teſtimony of her own Writings. She was, as it ſeems, perpetually changing her Servants; and indeed well ſhe might, for beſides the natural Moroſeneſs of her Temper, (ſo great, as this Author remarks, "ut "nemo moroſitatem ejus tolerare poſſet, minime om-"nium fœminæ quas in ſodalitium aut famulitium ad-"ſciverat; exercebatur nempe in illas, ut luſit Saty-"ricus, Præfectura domus, Siculâ non mitior aulâ") beſides this, ſhe would hardly allow them common neceſſaries——Si ceux qui ont demeure avec elle n'avoient eu les dents biens fortes pour digerer certaines croûtes biens dures a la nature corrompuë, ils l'auroient quittée mille fois pour une. *Bayle*'s Dict. p. 687.——By this Conduct, 'tis eaſy to obſerve, ſhe gratified at once her Covetouſneſs, (for which ſhe was very remarkable) in leſſening the ordinary Expences of her Family; and her Piety in training up her Domeſticks to the Practice of Chriſtian Mortification. Let us proceed upon this Inſtance, and ſee if it will not account for ſome others of the ſame kind——'Tis no unuſual thing to ſee People practiſing very high Degrees of *Devotion*, *Morti-*

ſucceeding in the Buſineſs of Religion, becauſe upon Examination they diſcover in themſelves little or no Acquaintance with thoſe *tumultuous Heats*, and *ungoverned Sallies* of *Paſſion*, upon which ſo great a *Streſs* is laid by theſe *religious Inamorato's*: And on the other, it hardens the diſſolute and unthinking Part of Mankind into an obſtinate Reluctance towards the very firſt Efforts of Reformation, by confirming them in a Prejudice they are of *themſelves* too willing to entertain againſt *Religion*, that it is a *rigorous impracticable* Service; a State of *unnatural* Refinement, altogether *incompatible* with the *common* Meaſures of human

Mortification, and other ſuppoſed Inſtances of a more *eminent* Religion, who yet are extremely *faulty* when conſider'd in their *ſocial* Character: Bad Parents, Husbands, Wives, Children, Friends, Relations, Governors of Families, *&c.* This inconſiſtent Behaviour with ſome People makes them paſs for downright Hypocrites, and acting a mere *Farce* in their greateſt Strictneſſes. The Caſe is far otherwiſe; they are very ſincere, but at the ſame time very much miſtaken: for they conſider Religion as a matter quite diſtinct from, and much *ſuperior* to, ſocial Virtue; hence they are ſo buſied with the one, that they have no leiſure to beſtow any care upon the other.—Or poſſibly after all they may have found out the Art, with our Author's Heroine, of *ſanctifying* their own *Humours* and *Tempers* under the name of ſome *religious Quality*; and then there will be very little Myſtery in the matter. For by this artful way of Self-Deluſion (and nothing is ſo artful as Self-Deluſion) a ſevere Hatred of one's own Species may, as was hinted above, be conſtrued into

human Life. And after all, *Philemon*, ſuppoſing this *devotional* and *ecſtatic* Habit were in itſelf barely *innocent*, (which yet I dare ſay you are convinc'd from what has been juſt now ſaid of it, that it is *far* from being) ſtill it muſt be remember'd, that there is a much greater Degree of Reſolution ſhewn in overcoming Temptations, than in meanly deſerting our Poſt, and flying from them. The true *Heroiſm* of Religion conſiſts in living and acting our part well *in the World*, not in any fanciful *Abſtraction* of ourſelves from it. It argues a much greater Strength, and Firmneſs of Mind, a more exalted Pitch of *Self-Government*, to be able to keep a due guard upon our *Paſſions*, at the ſame time that we leave them to their

into a more intire Love of God——Natural Severity will be religious Diſcipline——Anger and Peeviſhneſs Zeal——Moroſeneſs Gravity——Weakneſs of Mind a Tenderneſs of Conſcience——Narrowneſs of thinking Orthodoxy——Pride a Regard to Things or Perſons ſacred——ſplenetic Contempt of the World, a becoming Abſtraction from it——unmanly Tameneſs of Mind, a Chriſtian Poverty of Spirit——Singularity, Conſtancy—Warmth of Conſtitution, Devotion, *&c.* ——and perhaps too miſtaken Applications, Inſtances, and Paſſages of Scripture, may not be wanting to a willing Mind to ſupport itſelf in any of theſe Errors. ——Let us once more have recourſe to our Example—We are told of Mademoiſelle *Bourignon*, that far from imagining, que ſa bile fût un defaut, elle l'appelloit amour de Juſtice; & ſoutenoit que la colere etoit une veritable Vertu; & ſe defendoit par les Rigueurs que les Prophetes, & les Apôtres ont exercées. *Bayle*'s Dict. p. 687. Art. *Bourignon*. Letter *P*.

natural

natural Objects and Exercises, within the sacred Verge of *Reason* and *Religion*, than to be driven to take Refuge from their *natural* Exorbitancies in the Invention of a *secondary* and *artificial* Method of indulging them; and *that* too in a Matter where the Application of them, to say no worse of it, seems beyond all others *improper*.

WOULD you then, (said I, interrupting him,) allow no Scope to the *Passions* in Religion? That will indeed effectually purge it of it's *unnatural Heats*; but will it not be running too far back into the *chilling Extreme?* Our Passions are the Springs of Action in our ordinary Concerns, without which Life itself would be apt to stagnate; may not some such *quickening* Influence be equally necessary in our religious ones? Our *Prayers* particularly, if they be not warm'd and inliven'd with some Degrees of *Fervency* and *Intenseness*, (the Helps towards which seem to me to lie mostly in the *Passions*,) will they not degenerate into a mere *lifeless* Indifferency, a cold and formal *Lip-Service?* You know a certain great Man was once pretty severely treated for defining Prayer to be a *calm, undisturbed, Address to God.* A Doctrine, it should seem, very near of kin to yours in what you just now advanc'd *.

* Bishop of *Bangor*'s Sermon before the King in 1717.

If *this*, (replied *Hortenſius*) had been the *only* Offence of that Gentleman in the Diſcourſe you refer to, I am apt to believe his Adverſaries had afforded him better Quarter. But the *main* Quarrel againſt him ſprung, as I take it, from *other* Motives; and *this* Circumſtance came in chiefly to aggravate and inflame the *general* Charge. And indeed the *Rancour* of Controverſy itſelf durſt not attack him upon this Article, till, by an Artifice very familiar to expert Diſputants, it had firſt diſguiſed and thrown aſide it's *natural* and *obvious* Meaning; explaining away *calm*, and *undiſturbed*, into *cold* and *unconcerned*, contrary to all Rules of common Language. Whereas, take the Paſſage in the *plain received* Senſe and Intention of it, and it is ſo far from miniſtring any reaſonable grounds of exception, that for my part, I cannot conceive, how a *juſter* or *truer* Account of Prayer, within the compaſs of ſo *few* Words, could poſſibly have been deviſed. This, I think, muſt appear to any one, who, diſliking the Definition here given of Prayer, ſhall be pleaſed, for *experiment ſake*, to *reverſe* it; ſubſtituting the contrary Epithets of *troubled*, and *tumultuous*, inſtead of *calm* and *undiſturbed*. Such a Deſcription would, I imagine, have a pretty odd Sound in the Ears of moſt People; and hardly be thought

thought to convey a very *juſt* Idea of the Nature and Genius of it's Subject.

THAT, (ſaid I,) would be running out of *one Extreme* into *another*. But certainly ſome Degrees of Warmth and Earneſtneſs, beyond what is expreſſed by the Words *calm*, and *undiſturbed*, ſeem neceſſary to give *Life* and *Spirit* to our *Devotions*. Such a *feeble* Attack as this amounts to, can never be called with any tolerable Propriety of Speech a taking the *Kingdom of Heaven* by *Violence* *; a Notion under which, if I miſtake not, our Divines do not unfrequently repreſent this Duty of Prayer.

YOU miſtake the Point, (returned he) *Philemon*. Warmth and Earneſtneſs in any *good* ſenſe are by no means inconſiſtent with being *calm*, and *undiſturbed*; which is oppoſed, not to having a fixed rational *Intention* of Mind in our Religious Exerciſes, a *ſerious recollected* Frame of Spirit; but to the *artificial* Heats and Tranſports of a wanton Imagination, and an Enthuſiaſtic Fancy; that *groſs*, and mechanical ſort of Devotion, which Writers of the *myſtic* Claſs, who no doubt are themſelves well acquainted with it, deſcribe as accompanied with "*a* "*ſenſible Commotion of the Spirits*, and *E*-

* St. Mat. xi. ver. 12.

" *ſtuation of the Blood* * :" An excellent, and doubtleſs an *indiſpenſable*, Ingredient *this*, in the Service of him who has declared, he is to be *worſhipped by all true Worſhippers in Spirit and in Truth* †! Thoſe who think *calm* and *undiſturbed* in Prayer to mean the ſame with *lifeleſs*, and *indifferent*, ſeem to me to forget that there are any ſuch Principles in human Nature as *pure Affections*, diſtinct from thoſe *ſupplemental Forces* which they may ſometimes receive from certain *Ferments* in the *animal Oeconomy*, deſign'd by the Wiſdom of Providence to excite or quicken their Influence upon emergent Occaſions, and which are, properly ſpeaking, *Paſſions* ‖. And indeed

* Norris's *Miſcell.* 12°. p. 335. 'Tis ſaid alſo to be *paſſionate*, and even *wonderfully ſo*, and *exceeding the Love of Women*. And accordingly Men of the moſt *warm* and *pathetic* Tempers, and *affectionate* Complexions, (provided they have but Conſideration enough withal to fix upon the right Object) prove the *greateſt* Votaries in Religion. ibid. 335, 336.—A Joy whoſe perpetual Current always affords a freſh Delight, and yet every drop of it ſo entertaining, that we might live upon it to all Eternity: whilſt our Souls are inebriated with its Pleaſures, our very Bodies partake of its Sweetneſs. For it excites a grateful and eaſy Motion in the animal Spirits, and cauſes ſuch an agreable Movement of the Paſſions, as comprehends all the Delight abſtracted from the Uneaſineſs which other Objects are apt to occaſion. *Lett. conc. the Love of God*, p. 86, 87.

† St. John iv. ver. 23.

‖ When the word *Paſſion* is imagin'd to denote any thing

deed theſe latter have ſo plain a reference to the Uſes of the *animal* Life, that were not the Fact too common, one would wonder how they ſhould ever get footing in *Spirituals*, to which they ſeem not to have the *leaſt Relation* *. In our ordinary Concerns the Connexion between the *Affections* and *Paſſions* is often too *ſecret*, the mutual *Tranſitions* from one to the other, often too quick

thing diſtinct from the *Affections*, it includes a *confuſed Senſation* either of Pleaſure or Pain, occaſion'd or attended by ſome violent *bodily Motions*, which keeps the Mind much employ'd upon the preſent Affair, to the excluſion of every thing elſe. *Nat. and Conduct of the Paſſions.* p. 28, 29.

The *Author* of Nature has probably formed many *active* Beings, whoſe Deſires are not attended with *confuſed Senſations*, raiſing them into *Paſſions* like to *ours*. ibid. p. 50.

Beings of ſuch Degrees of *Underſtanding*, and ſuch *Avenues* to Knowledge, as we have, muſt need theſe *additional Forces*, which we call *Paſſions*, &c. ib. p. 51. and to the end of the Sect.

When more violent *confuſed Senſations* ariſe with the *Affection*, and are attended with, or prolonged by *bodily Motions*, we call the whole by the Name of *Paſſion*. ibid. Sect. 3. p. 60.———

* Thoſe who would ſee a Defence in form of this ſort of paſſionate Devotion, may find it in Mr. *Norris*'s Miſcel. p. 423. and following ones.——It may not be amiſs to inſert here his Anſwer to a very important Objection to his favourite Scheme of a ſenſitive Love of God. " Some, ſays he, I know are of opinion, " that 'tis not poſſible for a Man to be affected with " this *ſenſitive Love* of God, which is a *Paſſion*, be- " cauſe there is nothing in God which falls under our " Imagination; and conſequently (the Imagination

quick and ſudden to admit of an accurate *Diſtinction*. And here the Miſchief of confounding them is not great. But in *Religion* 'tis far otherwiſe: *there*, however juſt an *Application* there may be for our *pure rational Affections*, the Subject is too *ſacred* for our *Paſſions* to *intrude*, without *profaning* it. No one will imagine our *Affections* are leſs real for being purged of all *groſs* and *corporeal* Mixtures; and certain it is, they are hereby rendered much more *pure*, and conſequently more *ſuitable* to a *ſpiritual* and *divine* Object. Now this Diſtinction being kept in view, 'tis eaſy to ſee, how

" being the only Medium of Conveyance) it cannot " be propagated from the intellectual Part to the *ſenſi-* " *tive*: whereupon they affirm, that none are capable " of this *ſenſitive paſſionate Love* of God but Chriſtians, " who enjoy the *Myſtery* of the *Incarnation*. But 'tis " not all the *Sophiſtry* of the *cold Logicians* that ſhall " work me out of the Belief of what I feel and know, " and rob me of the ſweeteſt Entertainment of my " Life, the *paſſionate Love of God*."———Thus far we ſee he only enjoys himſelf in his Deluſion; how he defends it, will next appear.——After triumphing a little longer, " As to the Objection, ſays he, I an- " ſwer, that altho' in God, who is the Object of our " Love, we can *imagine* nothing, yet we can *imagine* " *that our Love*; which conſiſts in this, that we " would unite ourſelves to the Object beloved, and " conſider ourſelves as it were a part of it; and the " ſole *Idea* of this very *Conjunction* is enough to ſtir up " a Heat about the Heart, and ſo to kindle a very ve- " hement Paſſion: to which, I add, that altho' *Beauty* " in God be not the ſame as in corporeal Beings, yet " it is ſomething *analogous* to it, and that very *Ana-*

" *logy*

how needleſs it is to have recourſe to our *Paſſions* in order to give *life* and *vigor* to our religious Exerciſes, when our *calm rational Affections*, a much nobler Part of our Compoſition, are abundantly ſufficient to all *wiſe* and *good* Purpoſes of doing this. Theſe will inſpire *Warmth* without *Flame*, and *Strength* without *Rage* and *Violence*. So that we ſhall be able to *pray* at once *with the Spirit*, with all the earneſtneſs of a devout Recollection, and as the ſame inſpired Perſon ſpeaks, *with the Underſtanding* alſo *;

" *logy* is enough to excite a Paſſion."———We have been ſeveral times obliged to this Gentleman for aſcertaining to us the *Fact* of this *Inamorato-Devotion*; here we have him condeſcending to explain the *Philoſophy* of it. It ſeems, we are to ſet our Spirits at work about ſomething, we know not what, and when we have *ſtirr'd up* a ſufficient *Heat about the Heart* (which by the way is rather felt than to be imagined) we are to fall in love with this very *Heat*, and make an Idol of our own Paſſion. *Conjunction* is the Word of Command, and inſtantly all the tender Paſſions are called to exerciſe. Let thoſe who can make Senſe of ſuch a Religion, enjoy it as they pleaſe. 'Tis to be hoped after all, a little Sobriety of Thought does not incapacitate a Man to be a religious Agent; and that People may *ſerve God acceptably* without turning Viſionaries, and Enthuſiaſts.

* 1 Cor. xiv. ver. 15, *&c.*

How different this from what *Caſſian* reports of *Anthony* the Hermit, who uſed, it ſeems, to ſay, *that* is not a *perfect Prayer*, in *which* the *Votary* does either *underſtand himſelf* or the *Prayer!* See *Great Exemplar*, p. 60. This is being, as the ſame *Author* has it, *Pathics* in *Devotion* with a witneſs.———

with

with a due Senſe of that aweful *Preſence* we are at ſuch Seaſons more immediately ſurrounded with, and which we may be very ſure is much better pleaſed with the Worſhip of a *pure* Heart, and of *well-order'd* Affections, than with all the wild and wanton *Ecſtaſies*, that even the moſt luſcious *Enthuſiaſt* can boaſt of. In ſhort, *Paſſion* is but the mere *Mechaniſm* of *Devotion*; and in proportion as *that* prevails, it loſes *ſo far* its true Nature and Dignity, and ceaſes to be a *reaſonable Service* *. This we may ſafely affirm, *Philemon*; that the ſacred *Scriptures* know nothing of thoſe *paſſionate Heats*, and *Paroxyſms* of *devout Phrenzy* which ſome Men are ſo fond of. Theſe *myſtical* Refinements owe not their birth to the *rational Simplicity* of the *Goſpel*, but to the fond Conceits of Men in *After-Ages* departing from *thence*, to introduce their own vain *Imaginations*, and Syſtems of *Will-Worſhip* in its ſtead. Where do we read of *Ecſtaſies*, *Raptures*, *Suſpenſions*, of *ſtarings upon the divine Beauty*, *expiring in the Embraces of our Maker* †, and I know not what other Flights of *enthuſiaſtic Jargon*, in the *inſpired Pages?* What mention is *there* ever made of the refined Tranſports of *ſeraphic Love*, the *myſtic Union*,

* Rom. xii. ver. 1.

† Taylor's *Great Exemplar*. p. 60. Norris's *Miſcel.* 334.

and

and all the other *fanciful Abſtractions of* Monaſtic, and Recluſe *Pietiſts?* Theſe are the Dreams and Inventions of *Men*, not the Doctrines of *Chriſt* and his *Apoſtles*. Religion in the New Teſtament is often repreſented as the proper *Diſcipline* of the Paſſions, but never once, that I know of, as the *Buſineſs*, and *Exerciſe* of them. *Prayer* is often mention'd, and commanded; but not a word is ſaid of thoſe *ecſtatic* and *artificial* Commotions which the *myſtical Divinity* is ſo full of. *When thou prayeſt*, ſays our Lord, *enter into thy Cioſet, and when thou haſt ſhut thy Door*, to avoid all vain Oſtentation, *pray to thy Father which is in ſecret*. And *after this manner pray ye, Our Father*, &c *. Words of ſuch amazing *Force*, and *Comprehenſion*, and at the ſame time of ſuch a wonderful, and inartificial *Simplicity*, as muſt convince the moſt harden'd Infidel, would he give himſelf leave thoroughly to attend to them, of that *divine Spirit* and *Wiſdom* by which the *Author* of them moſt unqueſtionably *ſpake*. This excellent Form of Prayer, *Philemon*, was, we know, intended as a Model for all ſucceeding Ages to copy after in their devotional Compoſitions; and how little does it ſavour of thoſe *affected Strains* with which later Compilers of devout Formularies ſo generally abound? The truth is, it

* Mat. vi. ver. 6. and 9.

is

is not, like theirs, conceiv'd in the Heat of an enthuſiaſtic Fancy, or ſet off with the falſe Glare of human Eloquence, but with a Spirit and Language much ſuperior to both; even with that powerful *Energy* of Thought, and that affecting *Plainneſs* of Expreſſion, as ſhews *Devotion*, in the Intention of that *pure* and *ſpiritual* Being who is the great Object of it, to be a very *different* thing from what theſe Men's miſtaken Zeal would repreſent it. An Exerciſe of our *rational Nature*, not of our *ſenſitive*; the dutiful Homage of intelligent Spirits, not the *wanton Careſſings* of *amorous* Voluptuaries; a kind of *myſtical* Intriguing, and *ſanctified* Gallantry.

THERE is certainly, (ſaid I) nothing of this kind appears in the admirable Form of *Prayer* you have been ſpeaking of. It is compoſed in a quite different Stile, and gives one a very noble and exalted Idea of the *rational* and *manly* Genius of true *Devotion*. It is ſtrange the devotional Writers of later times ſhould have ſo generally agreed to deviate from the *Simplicity* of ſo divine and excellent a Model; but Men have a wonderful Aptneſs to refine upon plain Inſtitutions, and in nothing more than in the Buſineſs of *Religion*.

WHEN

WHEN one conſiders, (interrupted *Hortenſius*,) how ſtrongly this *over-refining* Biaſs operates in moſt other devotional Compoſitions, it muſt greatly recommend the public Offices of our *Church*, that they are ſo unexceptionable upon this Article. Nothing can equal the Wonder that they ſhould ſo intirely eſcape a Contagion of ſo inſinuating a nature, except the Pleaſure it muſt give every *rational Worſhipper* that they have done it. For ſuch, it muſt be confeſs'd, was the Judgment and Temper of the firſt Compilers of our public *Liturgy*, our never to be forgotten *Reformers*, that in the juſt and beautiful Deſcription which the *reverend Hiſtorian* of the Reformation gives of it, *It has brought our Worſhip to a fit Mean between the Pomp of Superſtition, and naked Flatneſs* *. Here, *Philemon*, are none of thoſe Flights and Extravagancies which ſo much abound, in more *private* Formularies; all is grave, manly, and rational.

I was of his Opinion in the main, (I own'd) but at the ſame time I could not but think there was room for ſeveral *Amendments* in our publick Service, which I wiſhed the Wiſdom of our Governours would take into their ſerious Conſideration.

* Bp. *Burnet*'s Abr. of the Hiſt. of the Ref. 8vo. p. 59.

WAS there ever any *mere human* Compoſition (anſwer'd *Hortenſius*) *wholly* free from Faults? Certainly our *Church Liturgy* is as much, or more ſo, than any other; eſpecially conſidering how long a time it has now ſtood without undergoing any Alteration, as *Occaſions* and *Circumſtances* may have requir'd *. For my part, I am much more inclined to rejoice that it is *no worſe*, than to complain that it is *no better*. I wiſh our private Forms, were but half as unexceptionable as our public ones.

WHAT think you, (ſaid I) of thoſe Heads of private Prayer which the excellent Author of the *Religion of Nature delineated* has offer'd, under the Article of *Truths relating to the Deity* †? I do not remember to have met with any private Form that has pleaſed me ſo well, or which I have thought ſo every way conformable to that divine Standard of Devotion we were mentioning juſt now.

* The laſt public Reviſal of our Liturgy was made and ſubſcribed by the Convocation on *Friday* the 20th of *December* 1661, and paſſed both Houſes of Parliament the *March* following. *Wheatly*'s Append. to Introd. to rational Illuſtration of the Book of Common Prayer, p. 31.

† See *Wollaſton*'s Rel. of Nat. del. p. 120, 121.

I am glad, (replied He,) *Philemon*, you are ſo much a Friend to this Author's Method of Devotion, which certainly is altogether of the *calm*, and *undiſturb'd* kind; tho' at the ſame time it is ſo far from being *lifeleſs*, and *indifferent*, that on the contrary it is *warm'd* and *animated* with every rational and affectionate *Sentiment*, that can awaken a *devout Attention*; ſufficient, one would imagine, to inſpire *Thoughtfulneſs* into the moſt *diſſolute* Breaſt, and awe even the Wildneſs of *Enthuſiaſm* itſelf into ſome Degrees of *rational Compoſure*. 'Tis true, this excellent Writer rather ſuggeſts to his Readers ſeveral Articles, as Heads, or Hints of Devotion, as you rightly term'd them, than gives them the *direct Form* of a Prayer. But 'tis eaſy to reduce them to a *direct* and *regular Form*, by a few ſlight Alterations; and that too conformably to the *Chriſtian Syſtem*, tho' at preſent they are rather drawn up upon the Plan of *natural Religion*. To thoſe who are deſirous of a more lengthen'd, or more explicite Ritual, I ſhould recommend thoſe admirable Forms of Prayer which have been lately made public at the end of a celebrated Treatiſe upon the *Sacrament*, ſuppoſed to have come from the ſame *worthy Hand* with the Doctrine of the *calm and undiſturbed*

*Addreſs**. They are indeed drawn up with an excellent Spirit, and great Judgment; full of warm and animated Sentiments of *Piety* towards *God*, expreſſing itſelf *chiefly* and *principally*, (as *true Piety* will always do) in Strains of moſt inlarg'd and affectionate *Charity*, and *Benevolence* towards *Men*. A Devotion thus temper'd and conducted is certainly one of the nobleſt Employments of a *rational*, and *ſocial* Nature. It is not to be conſider'd as a bare Diſcharge of *one* Act of our Duty, but as an excellent *Means* of forming our Minds to Habits of *univerſal Virtue*, and *Goodneſs*. For it calls forth every nobler and more generous Principle within us, cultivates and cheriſhes theſe natural Seeds of Worth and Excellency in our *Hearts* which will gradually ripen into *Action*, and lay the ſure Foundations of a virtuous and exemplary *Character*. In a word, *Philemon*, it raiſes and exalts the Soul far above the utmoſt Refinements of the *Cloyſter*, or the moſt *ecſtaſy'd Heats* of monaſtic *Viſionaries*; for it does in reality *accompliſh*, what *thoſe* do but in vain *pretend* to, the faſhioning our Souls into a *Divine Likeneſs*; by exerciſing them in all thoſe truly *Godlike Affections*, which are the *diſtinguiſhing* Marks and Features

* Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament, &c.

of

of *Divinity* *. I the rather mention *this Author*'s Forms of Devotion, as they may help to reconcile you to his *Definition* of Prayer, about which you ſeem'd to have ſome Diſtruſt. For certainly if his Practice may be allow'd to be a good Comment upon his Sentiments, they are perfecty juſt, and rational in this point.

YET there are thoſe, (ſaid I) who find great fault with this Author's *devotional Forms*, as indeed with the *whole Doctrine* of the Treatiſe to which they are annex'd.

As

* When I ſpeak here of the *natural* good Tendencies of Prayer rightly circumſtanced, I would not be underſtood to exclude any *ſuperior* Helps, and Aſſiſtances to Virtue, which may be promiſed to it in *Scripture*. Something of *this kind* we are there ſufficiently warranted to expect from it. Mean while, as to the *preciſe Nature*, and *Degree* of theſe Aſſiſtances, that is no where ſpecially determin'd. From the Compariſon our *Lord* makes uſe of to *illuſtrate* this matter to us, that of the *Wind's blowing where it liſteth*, from Cauſes to us ſecret, and imperceptible, we are inſtructed to think, that the Workings of the *divine Spirit* are by us *undiſtinguiſhable* from thoſe of our own *proper* and *natural Faculties*. See *John* iii. ver. 8.—And indeed were the *Scripture* wholly *ſilent* in the Caſe, the plain "Reaſon "of the Thing would teach us, that the Benefits re- "ceiv'd by reaſonable Creatures from any Perfor- "mances, muſt, as *our Author* ſpeaks, be receiv'd in "a reaſonable Way. No Duties, how well ſoever "perform'd, can be ſuppoſed to operate as Charms, "nor to influence us as if we were only Clock-work, "or Machines to be acted upon by the arbitrary "Force of a ſuperior Being. In the natural and rea- "ſonable

As to the Treatiſe, (replied he) no one can, I think, doubt, as well from the Nature of the Work itſelf, as from the *known Character* of its preſumed *Author*, but that it was wrote with a moſt excellent Deſign. Every body knows, who has at all conſider'd the Subject, or made any Obſervation upon the Conduct of moſt People in ordinary Life in relation to the *Sacrament*, with what a multitude of *abſurd Superſtitions* this Inſtitution of our *Lord's*, originally plain, and ſimple in itſelf, has been incumber'd by the Weakneſs, or Corruption of ſucceeding Ages of Chriſtians. Sometimes it has been ſet forth to view with ſo thoroughly *forbidding* an Aſpect, as

" ſonable Tendency of them we ought to found our " main Expectations." *Nature and End of the Sacrament*, *p.* 154, 155.——This by the way may ſuggeſt to us how *neceſſary* a thing a *diſcreet* and *well-order'd Choice* is in the *Matter* of our *Devotions*. The Sentiments to which we *familiariſe* our Minds by the *conſtant Returns* of our *Devotional Exerciſes*, will not fail to have a great Influence upon the Conduct of our Lives *in general*; eſpecially, as they come always *attended* with a *religious Impreſſion*. Particularly, we ſhould do well to ſelect for our Purpoſe *ſuch Forms chiefly* as are moſt *apt* to improve our *Virtue*, and to inſpire us with an *inlarg'd*, and *active Benevolence*. The *contrary* whereof is ſo *viſible* in the *narrow* and *contracted Sentiments* of too many *Religioniſts*, that one cannot help ſuſpecting *their Devotion* is *form'd* upon quite *other Principles*. For my part, I am verily perſuaded, that, as nothing has a *better Effect* upon the *natural*

as a matter of ſuch infinite *Hazard*, and *Difficulty*, that weak and honeſt Minds have been diſcouraged from it by the unnatural *Terror* of its Appearance; and ſo a plain Command has been neglected, for fear of an *unworthy Performance* of it. At others, it has been repreſented ſo much in the nature of a *religious Charm*, that many have been brought to lay an *unwarranted Streſs* upon this *one* Act of Religion, to the prejudice of *all* beſides; and ſo a punctual *Diſcharge* of their Duty in this *one reſpect* has been abuſed into a liberty of violating it in *every other*. Now the undeceiving People of both theſe Prejudices is certainly a Deſign which every good Man muſt rejoice to ſee well executed. And this is the very Point our Author labours

tural Temper, than a *manly*, *rational*, *benevolent Devotion*, ſo nothing does ſo effectually *ſour* and *ſpoil* it, as that *illiberal*, *narrow*, and *ungenerous* ſort of *Devotion* which is too commonly taught and practiſed by People of a *Religious Turn*. Far from *opening* and *inlarging* the Mind to Views of *impartial*, and *unlimited Benevolence*, it inſpires in it's ſtead, as a *polite Author* has well expreſs'd it, "a ſort of *ſupernatural Charity*, *which conſidering the future Lives and Happineſs of Mankind inſtead of the preſent, and extending itſelf wholly to another World, has made us leap the Bounds of natural Humanity in this; has rais'd Antipathies which no temporal Intereſt could ever do, and taught us the way of plaguing one another moſt devoutly.*" Charact. vol. I. p. 18.——It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that this way of thinking is not a little countenanced by the very *Turn* and *Compoſition* of that excellent Form of Prayer which was recommended to us by the *divine Author* of

our

bours in the Performance we are ſpeaking of. And indeed as he undertook it with a truly Rational and Chriſtian Intention, he ſeems to me to have diſcharged it with admirable Succeſs. Thus much, I think, muſt be ſaid; that ſo long as Men are content to take their Notions of this Inſtitution from the Inſtitutor *himſelf*, and not from the Comments of Men in *after-times* pretending *to be wiſe above that which is written*, our Author's *general Doctrine* at

our Religion *himſelf*. The *Lord's Prayer*, 'tis well known, runs throughout in the *plural Number*. We are inſtructed to ſay, *Our* Father, Give *Us* this day, Forgive *Us*, Lead *Us* not, Deliver *Us*, &c. all of them Petitions of *univerſal Extent* and *Comprehenſion*, to be made in the *behalf* of *all Mankind*, as well as of *ourſelves*. Should not this teach us, that an *inlarged*, *univerſal Benevolence* ought ever to accompany our *religious Addreſſes*? And indeed, to conſider a little the plain Reaſon of the thing, when can we ſo properly awaken in our Souls a ſtrong *Senſe* and *Conviction* of our *common Alliance* to one another as *Beings* of the *ſame Nature* and *Species*, as when we are in a more *eſpecial* Manner preſenting ourſelves before *that great Being* who is the *common Parent* of *our Species*? who has ſignified to us his good Pleaſure, in a Language far more *emphatical* and *expreſſive* than any *external* Declaration, even the Language of our own *Hearts*, that *univerſal unlimited Benevolence* ſhould be as much the *ſtanding Law* of the *moral World*, as *Gravitation* is of the *natural*? and that the *Body-ſocial* ſhould be as firmly *knit together in Love* by the *Cords of a Man*, as the Scripture elegantly ſpeaks, the Ties of mutual Kindneſs and good Affection, as *natural Bodies* are held together in their reſpective Coheſions by the mutual Attractions of their ſeveral Parts?

leaſt

leaſt muſt ſtand clear of all reaſonable Exception. And as to any *other* Points of Controverſy, lying out of the Compaſs of his *general* Deſign, which he may have incidentally touched upon in the Courſe of his Writing, he has delivered his Sentiments of them ſo *ſparingly*, and in ſo *general* a way, that the *moſt* that can be made out of *them* will amount to nothing more than *Conjecture*. And therefore it ſhould ſeem, that the attacking him in this *indirect* Method ſavours a little of a Diſpoſition to ſupply the Defect of a more explicite Charge againſt the main Body of the *Work*, by blowing up Prejudices againſt the *perſonal* Reputation of the *Author*; an Artifice certainly moſt ungenerous, however common with the Writers in religious Controverſies! The *ſofteſt* that can be ſaid of ſuch ſort of Attacks upon him, is, that they are wholly foreign to the Purpoſe.

And as the Diſlike which ſome People have ſhewn to the Treatiſe itſelf, ſeems to have ariſen rather from *uncertain Suſpicions* of the Author's *general* way of thinking, than from any ſuppoſed *falſe* Doctrines he has *directly* aſſerted in it; ſo I am inclined to think, this has been full as much the Caſe in reſpect to the devotional Forms. This I am pretty ſure of, *Philemon*; that if they

diſcover leſs of *partial* Regards to *particular Syſtems*, than ſutes the narrowed Genius of ſome Men's Religion, they breath a much *diviner* Spirit, even that of *univerſal Charity*, and *Forbearance*. If they afford leſs Scope to the irregular Sallies of the *Paſſions* in Religion, than ſutes the Warmth of ſome Men's Tempers, they give abundant Exerciſe to the nobler Principles of *Reaſon*, and *Social-Affection*. And let Men refine as much as they pleaſe, whatever goes beyond *theſe*, under the Pretext of a more *exalted* Devotion, it is not, as we have ſeen, *Piety*, but *Enthuſiaſm*, of which, I hope, you are by this time made ſufficiently acquainted with the true Original, and Lineage.

I was ſo, (I confeſs'd) and I thought myſelf much obliged to him for leading me ſo agreably into the Diſcovery of it. You have (ſaid I) abundantly convinced me of what I did not ſuſpect before, that it has its Foundation in a certain *Make* and *Conſtitution* of Men's *Bodies*; and after all the pompous things that are ſaid of it by Men of Fancy and Imagination, is at the bottom only a more *diſguiſed* way of Indulging a very ordinary *natural Paſſion*. 'Tis in ſhort little elſe but being very *religiouſly* in love, a ſort of " *hot Devotion*,

" reſiding,

" reſiding," as a lively Writer expreſſes it, " altogether in the Blood *."

AFTER you have given up this *devotional Habit* (interrupted *Hortenſius*) to be nothing more than a *particular* Effect of a Reigning *Paſſion*; need I put you in mind of purſuing the ſame Principle *throughout*, in order to account for thoſe other religious Extravagancies you was complaining of ſome time ago?

I ſee what you are driving at, (returned I:) As I agreed to reſolve the *devotee* Character in Religion into an *amorous* Conſtitution, ſo you would have me reſolve the *hermitical* and *auſtere* Character into a *timorous*, *gloomy*, and *phlegmatic* one.

WHEN *Calidus*, in the *Violence* of his Attachment to particular Modes of *Opinion*, is denouncing *Wrath* and *Deſtruction* againſt all who have the misfortune to differ from him, and with a kind of malicious Pleaſure hurling the Thunderbolts of *divine Vengeance* upon many *wiſer* and *ſoberer* Heads than his *own*; his *exceſſive Zeal*, you would have me believe, is nothing elſe but a more *ſanctified* ſort of *Choler*. Pride, Spleen, Luſt of Power and Dominion, with all the blacker Tribe of *Paſ-*

* Independent Whig, 12mo. p 204. 6 Ed. vol. 1.

 ſions,

ſions, are the *Springs* that ſet his *orthodox Reſentments* at work. The Reverend Furioſo would, as a ludicrous Author has it, " be as peeviſh at his Table, as in his " Pulpit;" and " would certainly quarrel, " and kick over his Claret, as well as over " his Cuſhion *."

WHEN *Flavia* betrays ſuch an *intemperate* Fondneſs for all the outward *Ceremonials* of Religion, that ſhe will needs practiſe them *over* with a moſt *ſcrupulous* Exactneſs, tho' at the expence of many *weightier Duties*; I am to look upon her *Religion* as one Species of her *natural Preciſeneſs*. She has an *inſignificant Punctuality* in her *Temper*, which enters into her *religious Oeconomy*. She is in ſhort the ſame *Trifler*, and *Formaliſt* in her *ſpiritual* Concerns, that ſhe is in thoſe of her *ordinary* Life.

SEVERUS therefore places all *Sanctity* in a *contracted Brow*, and a *moroſe Behaviour*; becauſe *he* has a *natural Reſerve*, and *Sullenneſs* in his *Temper*.

WHEN *Sempronia* darts about her *indiſcreet* Reproofs; and lectures and moralizes upon the moſt *improper* Occaſions, without any regard to *Times*, *Places*, or

* Indep. Whig, p. 204.

Perſons;

Perſons; ſhe is only proving how *ſecretly* and *ſecurely* a moſt *inordinate Vanity* and *Affectation* can run it's utmoſt lengths, under the *artful Cover* of *religious* Pretences.

" In ſhort, wherever there is any thing " overſtrain'd, unnatural, or extravagant in " Religious Life, the true Ground of it al- " ways lies in the *prevailing Biaſs* of Men's " *natural Tempers*, diſguiſing itſelf, as you " obſerved at our firſt Entrance upon this " Topic, under a *Religious* Appearance, " and Application."

You take my meaning perfectly right, (replied *Hortenſius*;) and the *natural* Concluſion which ariſes from the *whole* is *this*; " That *Religion itſelf* ſhould ever be care- " fully diſtinguiſh'd from the *Conduct* of " *particular Religioniſts*; and not re- " proach'd, as it too often happens, with " thoſe *adulterous* and *foreign* Mixtures " which have ſo large a ſhare in many " ſuppoſed *Religious Characters*." *Theſe* are Matter of private and perſonal Charge only, which it lies upon the ſeveral *intereſted Parties* to anſwer to. Mean while, how nearly it concerns thoſe who have a real Regard for the *Intereſts* of *Religion*, to wipe off any unjuſt Aſperſions to which it may have been expoſed upon *their* account, let *themſelves* be Judges.

And

AND thus, *Philemon*, I have complied with your Requeſt, in laying before you my laſt Night's Train of Thought.——By this time, I dare ſay, you have enough of an out-of-the-way *Speculation*——let us now break looſe from theſe ſerious Ingagements, and return to the ordinary Affairs of Life.

FINIS.

Miſtakes of the Preſs.

PAGE 6. line 10. *latter*, for *later*. p. 24. l. 1. in the Note *moſt* for *very*. p. 35. l. 14. in the Note πεζομενος for πεζουενος. alſo line 16. μεναθεω for μεν αθεω. p. 61. l. 5. in the Note *bear*, for *breathe*. p. 68. l. 4. in the Note, *chagrin*, for *chagrine*. alſo l. 16. *demeure*, for *demeuré*. p. 84. l. 19, 20. the Sentence, *and lay the ſure Foundations of a virtuous and exemplary Character*, is deſired to be changed into, *and abound to all the Graces of a perfect Character*.

Lately Publiſhed,

PART II.

PHILEMON to *HYDASPES,*

Relating a Converſation with HORTENSIUS on the Subject of *Falſe Religion.*

PHILEMON

TO

HYDASPES;

RELATING

A SECOND CONVERSATION with HORTENSIUS upon the Subject of FALSE RELIGION.

In which is asserted

The GENERAL LAWFULNESS of PLEASURE;

AND

The EXTRAVAGANT SEVERITIES of some Religious Systems are shewn to be a direct CONTRADICTION to the *Natural* Appointment and Constitution of Things.

Ἡδονης δε πασης μεν περιεχεσθαι, και παντως, αλογιστον εστι, πασαν δε φευγειν, και παντως, αναισθητον. *Plut.* con. sep. Sap. Ed. Xyl. p. 158.

THE SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:

Printed for M. STEEN, in the *Inner-Temple-Lane*.

M. DCC. XL.

(Price 1 *s.* 6 *d.*)



H. Gravelot, inv. et fculp.

PHILEMON

TO

HYDASPES,

&c.

I SHOULD have imagin'd, my *Hydaſpes*, had I not known you to be very different from the generality of polite People, that you would have been ſufficiently tired with ſo *grave* a Topic as *Religion*, after the Recital I had made you of an intire Morning's Converſation carried on profeſſedly upon

that Subject. Men of Spirit and Vivacity can ſeldom reliſh any thing ſerious long together. A Reflection or two in paſſing is the moſt they are ordinarily willing to ſubmit to. I have often been inclin'd to think the *awkard Solemnity*, with which we are commonly taught Religion makes the thought of it ſo unpleaſant to us ever afterwards. Juſt as ſome People contract a Diſtaſte to *Letters* from *illiberal Impreſſions* of the Harſhneſs and Severity of *School-Diſcipline*. Could we but once free Religion from this *over-ſolemn Air*, and diſperſe the *falſe Gloom*, which our *Nurſeries* have thrown about it, we might poſſibly procure it a freer Reception, and more frequent, and familiar Entertainment in the World. It might then be no longer confined to the Receſſes of the Cloyſter, the Seats of Mopiſhneſs, Superſtition, and Bigotry; but be ſometimes permitted to make its appearance even in *good Company*; and be brought into ſome degree of Credit and Reputation amongſt the polite and faſhionable part of Mankind. It was thus, *Hydaſpes*, that I indeavor'd lately to introduce *Religion* to your Thoughts, in that *freer Air*, and more *liberal Manner*, in which ſhe had been pourtrayed to me by the excellent hand of *Hortenſius* *; a Man

* See a Pamphlet intitled *Phil.* to *Hyd.* Part I.

who,

who, as I have often repreſented him to you,

always ſpeaks his thought,
And always thinks the very thing he ought *.

It ſeems, you are ſo far from being diſpleaſed with the report of our Conference, that you have ingaged me to recollect any farther particulars that might afterwards paſs between us, in purſuance of the ſame Argument. For it could not be, you are of opinion, that a ſingle Morning ſhould have ſufficed me to have diſcuſſed ſo copious a Theme, and of which you know me to have ſo remarkable a Fondneſs.

YOUR Conjecture is not ill founded. Having gone ſo far into the Subject, I was not eaſily diſingag'd from it. I was ever and anon relapſing inſenſibly into the ſame train of Thought; purſuing and applying the Principles we had already eſtabliſhed; and could ſcarce converſe with any thing ſo intirely foreign to it, but ſerved in ſome way or other to renew the Impreſſion.

ONE Afternoon, as *Hortenſius* and I were taking the air on horſeback, What think you, (ſaid he) of our making a viſit to my Neighbour *Clito*? you will find him

* Mr. *Pope*'s ſecond Sat. of Hor. im. lin. 135.

a very ſenſible agreable man; I ſhall be glad to introduce you to his Acquaintance. Beſides, you will be much pleas'd with a ſight of his *Villa*; he has been at a conſiderable expence in the Improvement of it; in which he has ſhewn himſelf to be Maſter of a very polite and genteel Taſte. You are a ſort of *Connoiſſeur* this way, you will have an opportunity of paſſing your own Judgment upon it.

I could have no Objection (you will imagine) to ſo agreable a Propoſal. About an Hour's ride thro' a very pleaſant Country brought us thither. We were receiv'd by *Clito* with an eaſy Civility, the genuine reſult of true Politeneſs. *Hortenſius* would have excus'd the liberty of introducing an intire Stranger, but *Clito* would hear nothing of that ſort: You cannot (ſaid he) oblige me more, *Hortenſius*, than by bringing me into an acquaintance with any Friend of yours.

Our firſt Ceremonies being over, I ſoon took occaſion to ſay ſomething of the Agreableneſs of the Place and Situation, which was ſuch as to ſtrike one at firſt ſight. It was an Inſtance (I obſerved) of that good Taſte, which ſeemed indeed to diſcover itſelf on all hands, that *Clito* had made choice of ſo beautiful a Spot to build

on;

on; where, without being too much expoſed, he had the Command of ſo fine a Country.

I have often (ſaid he) been ſurpriſed, *Philemon*, conſidering how much depends upon a good Situation, to find ſo little regard had to this, where even a prodigal Expence ſeemed to have been imployed to make every thing elſe as complete as poſſible.

'Twas not (obſerved *Hortenſius*) in every body's power to command equal Advantages this way. Nature might be ſaid to have her *favorite* ſpots, to which ſhe was more than ordinarily liberal of her Bounties; and which did, as it were, *beſpeak* Improvement by leaving, if the Paradox might paſs, ſo little room for *any*.

Were one to judge (returned I) by the Practice of ſome People, who yet would not be thought to want Taſte, one would imagine the *reverſe* of this Rule was to take place. They pitch upon the moſt barren and deſolate Spots to build on, as if the Perfection of *Art* were to croſs *Nature*; and are at infinitely more Expence to make a bad Situation *tolerable*, than would anſwer to make a more advantageous one *delightful*.

IT is this Vanity of Expence, (replied *Hortenſius*) that puts People upon ſuch unnatural Projects.

POSSIBLY (ſaid *Clito*) they are of opinion, that they have more of the Merit of their Deſigns to *themſelves*, the leſs they are beholden for any Hints of them to *Nature*. To cultivate a bleak barren Scene, and give Beauties where Nature ſeems to have been more than ordinarily ſparing of them, they may eſteem a ſort of voluntary Creation, in which the force of the Artiſt's *own Genius* is at full liberty to diſplay itſelf: whereas in a more advantageous Situation, much of his work is done beforehand, and *Art* has little elſe to do but to aſſiſt *Nature*, to proceed upon thoſe Hints which ſhe ſuggeſts, and to follow where ſhe points out the way.

AND to do this with any *competent Effect*, (ſaid I) may ſufficiently exerciſe the Invention of the moſt ingenious Deſigner. Nay, I queſtion whether it be not in ſome Caſes a greater trial of Skill not to *deſtroy*, or *weaken* a *natural* Beauty, than it can be in others to *introduce* an *artificial* one. This I am very ſure of, that there is no hope of any conſiderable Succeſs, where *Nature* and *Art* do not go hand in hand.

Without

Without this, whatever other Beauties there may be, a main one will ſtill be wanting; a certain eaſy *Simplicity* of *Manner*, which *Nature* only can give.

'Tis this (interpoſed *Hortenſius*) that I have always thought the great Recommendation of my Friend *Clito*'s Method of deſigning. Here, *Philemon*, is none of that *ſtudied Regularity*, which diſpleaſes by a perpetual Sameneſs and Repetition of

Grove nods at Grove, each Ally has a Brother,
*And half the Platform juſt reflects the other**.

The poor reſult of a *confined* Taſte, and a *Littleneſs* of Deſign! But a certain *agreable Wildneſs* prevails thro' the whole, which as it reſembles *Nature* in its *Beauty*, reſembles it alſo in its *Uſe*, (a ſure mark that it is natural!) by ſuting itſelf to the unequal Temper of our Climate, and varying with all the Varieties of our Seaſons.

You are very obliging, (ſaid *Clito*) but take care that by raiſing your Friend's Expectations too high, *Hortenſius*, you do not prepare him to be more eminently diſappointed. Something, 'tis true, of the kind you have been deſcribing is attempted here in little, and indeed the Nature of our

* Mr. *Pope*'s Epiſt. to my Lord *Burlington*, 115.

Engliſh

Engliſh Climate, as you rightly obſerv'd, where a Man may often go to bed in *June*, and riſe in *December*, makes it not only agreable, but neceſſary. How well this purpoſe is really anſwer'd, *Philemon* will be beſt Judge for himſelf, if he will be at the trouble of looking a little about him.

WITH all my heart, (ſaid I) *Clito*, it will be a very particular Pleaſure to me. ——Accordingly, having firſt taken a view of the Houſe, in which a general Neatneſs, Uſefulneſs, and *elegant Simplicity*, ſeem'd to have taken place of *operoſe* Grandeur, and a Profuſion of *ſtudied* Ornaments and *incumber'd* Magnificence, we were conducted into the Gardens, where I ſoon found what *Hortenſius* had been ſaying of them, was much more than a Compliment. The Diſpoſition was eaſy and natural, ariſing wholly out of the Genius of the *Place*; and the ſeveral Beauties ſeem'd not ſo properly brought *into* it, as reſulting *from* it. The Interchanges of Shade and Opening, level and raiſed Ground, Garden and Foreſt, were adjuſted with great Art, ſo as beſt to *relieve* and ſet *off* each the other; and withal to take in or exclude the view of the Country about us, as either was judged moſt *agreable* in the general Plan. Whilſt the Eye was taken up with the various Forms of beautiful

Objects that preſented themſelves in their reſpective *Aſſignments*, ſuch as *Theatres*, *Temples*, *Statues*, *Urns*, *Obeliſks*, the other Senſes were as agreably entertained with the multiplied Fragrancies of natural Scents, the warbling Muſic of Birds, or the ſoothing Softneſs of aquatic Murmurs. In ſhort, *Hydaſpes*, I never ſaw a more delightful Scene. I was ſo much taken with it, that we paſſed the intire remainder of our Viſit in rambling there from place to place, 'till the Evening inſenſibly came upon us.

In our return home, *Philemon*, (ſaid *Hortenſius* to me) I hope you do not think we have diſpoſed of our Afternoon amiſs.

Far from it, (returned I) I never paſſed one more to my ſatisfaction. You know I am a great lover of all natural Improvements. *Clito* has really an excellent turn this way. You are very happy, *Hortenſius*, in ſo agreable a Neighbour. He is a Man of ſtrong Senſe, and a very polite and improved Converſation.

I have ſometimes thought, (replied he) *Philemon*, there is a ſort of natural Connexion between what is called a *fine Taſte* of the *politer Arts* of Life, and a general *Poliſhedneſs* of *Manners* and *inward Character*. Men of a refined Imagination have

 uſually

uſually a *larger* way of thinking than others. They diſcover a *Delicacy* of *Sentiment*, and *Generoſity* of *Spirit*, which leſs *improved* Minds are wholly ſtrangers to. Should it not ſeem, *Philemon*, that being perpetually converſant in the Ideas of *natural Beauty*, *Order*, and *Proportion*, their *Tempers* inſenſibly take a *Poliſh* from the Objects of their *Studies* and *Contemplations?* They tranſcribe, as it were, ſomething of that *Grace* and *Symmetry* they are ſo fond of in *external* Subjects into the *inward* Frame and Diſpoſition of their own Minds *.

THE

* As ſoon, ſays the Author of the Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue, as a Heart, before hard and obdurate, is ſoftened in this Flame, (he is ſpeaking of Benevolence) we ſhall obſerve, ariſing along with it, a Love of *Poetry*, *Muſic*, the *Beauty* of *Nature* in rural Scenes, a neat *Dreſs*, a *humane* Deportment, a Delight in, and Emulation of every thing which is *gallant*, *generous*, and *friendly*. *Inquiry* p. 258. May not the reverſe of this Obſervation be equally true? This is certain, ſays an eminent Writer, that the Admiration and Love of *Order*, *Harmony*, and *Proportion*, in whatever kind, is naturally improving to the *Temper*, advantageous to ſocial Affection, and highly aſſiſtant to Virtue; which is itſelf no other than the Love of Order and Beauty in Society. *Characteriſtics*, vol. 2. p. 75.——Whoever, ſays another approved Author, find themſelves inſenſible to the Charms of Poetry and Muſic, would, I think, do well to keep their own Counſel; for fear of reproaching their own Temper, and bringing the Goodneſs of their Natures, if not of their Underſtandings, into queſtion. Sir *W. Temple*'s Miſcel. vol. 2.

p.

THE *Virtuoſi*, (ſaid I) *Hortenſius*, are much obliged to you. I wiſh they were always careful to make good an Obſervation ſo much in their favour. I am afraid the *polite Arts* are ſometimes cultivated by Men, who have no great Taſte of *moral Accompliſhments*.

THEN they are by no means the *Virtuoſi* they would be eſteemed, (returned he.) No Man has a juſt Claim to this Character, in whom the *Virtuoſo-Paſſion*, the Love of *Beauty*, *Order*, *Proportion*, does not prevail *throughout*, and influence his *general*

p. 62.——Were we to extend this Obſervation even to the inferior Elegancies of Dreſs, as inſignificant a Particular as it may ſeem to ſome People, we ſhould not want a very good Authority in our favour; the polite and philoſophic Poet in his Epiſtle to *Mæcenas*, having given a ſufficient Sanction to this way of reaſoning.

Si curtatus inæquali tonſore capillos
Occurri, rides: ſi forte ſubucula pexæ
Trita ſubeſt tunicæ, vel ſi toga diſſidet impar,
Rides: quid mea cum pugnat ſententia ſecum?

Hor. Epiſt. lib. 1. Epiſt. 1. v. 94.——and upon the ſame Principle *Seneca* mentions it as a very ſtrong Proof of Depravity in certain effeminate Characters of his time, that they were offended at little Irregularities in the Oeconomy of their *Perſons* at the ſame time that they had no Senſe of much worſe Diſorders in real *Life* and *Manners*. Quomodo iraſcuntur, ſays he, ſi tonſor paullo negligentior fuit? quis eſt iſtorum, qui non malit rempublicam ſuam turbari, quam comam? qui non comptior eſſe malit, quam honeſtior? —*L. A. Sen.* de Brev. Vit. lib. p. 505, 506.

Conduct *. For let us conſider, *Philemon*. Having once eſtabliſh'd a *Correctneſs* of Taſte and *Elegance* of Fancy in the Things of *outward* Grace and Ornament, ſhall we be ſuch poor and ſcanty Thinkers, as to give it no ſcope in Subjects of a *nobler* kind? ſhall we be ſo little conſiſtent with ourſelves, as to be inamor'd of the *Harmony* of *Sounds*, and have no Senſe of *inward Numbers*, the *Meaſures* of *Action*, the *nicer Tones* of *Paſſion* and *Sentiment* †? Being Maſters of a

* 'Tis upon this Principle the noble Author before referred to ſays, He is perſuaded that to be a *Virtuoſo*, ſo far as befits a Gentleman, is a Step towards the becoming a Man of Virtue, and good Senſe. *Charact.* vol. 1. 333. And again, 'Tis impoſſible we can advance the leaſt in any Reliſh or Taſte of outward Symmetry and Order, without acknowledging that the proportionate and regular State is the truly proſperous and natural in every Subject. Should not this, one would imagine, be ſtill the ſame Caſe, and hold equally as to the Mind? Vol. 3. 180, 181. and elſewhere.

† ——*Non verba ſequi fidibus modulanda Latinis:*
Sed veræ numeroſque, modoſque, ediſcere vitæ.
Hor. Epiſt. Lib. 2. Epiſt. 2. v. 143.——Αι μουσαι (ſays *Mneſiphilus* in *Plutarch*) παντα πασιν ἡμας μεμψαιντο, ει νομιζομεν αυτων εργον ειναι κιθαραν και αυλους, αλλα μη το παιδευειν τα ηθη, και παρηγορειν τα παθη των χρωμενων μελεσι και ἁρμονιαις. Con. ſep. Sap. 156.

How ſour ſweet Muſic is,
When Time is broke, and no Proportion kept?
So is it in the Muſic of Men's Lives.
And here have I the Daintineſs of Ear

To

a *judicious Eye* in the Works of *Painting* and *Statuary*, ſhall we be *blind* to all the *Charms* of *moral Limning*, the *Proportions* of *real* Life and *Manners?* Whilſt we are *ſcrupulouſly exact* in the *Models* of our Houſes, the *Diſpoſition* of Ornaments, the *Ordering* of Gardens, Avenues, Plantations, ſhall we have no regard to the *living Architecture* of our *own Minds?* no thought of *inward Imbelliſhment?* no Taſte of the more *beautiful Oeconomy* of a human *Heart*, the *Order* and *Diſpoſition* of its Affections? Never ſurely can our Imagination reſt wholly in the mere *mechanic* and *ſenſible* Forms of Beauty; ſeeing there is provided for it a far more *refined* Entertainment in the Theory of *moral* Excellence. For no where, *Philemon*, does the *Charm* of Beauty ſo forcibly prevail as in the *moral* Species. 'Tis to this the *Virtuoſo* muſt have recourſe for the *higheſt* Gratifications of his own *favorite Paſſion*. *Virtue* alone is the Truth and Perfection of *Virtuoſoſhip*. And as abſtracted a way of reaſoning as it may be thought, 'tis however a very juſt one; that a *correct Imagination* and a *diſſolute Character* are the greateſt *Contradictions* in

To hear Time broke in a diſorder'd String:
But for the Concord of my State and Time
Had not an Ear to hear my true Time broke!

Shakeſpear's Life and Death of *Richard* the ſecond. A very juſt and pathetic Reproach this to himſelf!

the

the World *. 'Tis thus, *Philemon*, that I have ſometimes been led to conſider the *Virtuoſo-Arts* as a more *refined* and *diſguiſed* ſort of *moral Diſcipline*; by which Men of *freer Spirits* are ſometimes *unawares* trained up to a ſenſe of *Duty* and *inward Worth*, who would never be prevailed upon to liſten to a more *direct* and *formal* method of Inſtruction.

A *happy* way of *moralizing* this indeed, (ſaid I) *Hortenſius!* to learn our *Duty* in our very *Pleaſures*; and extract *Wiſdom* and *Virtue* even from the *Luxuries* and *Elegancies* of Life! But how then is it that we often find the Maſters of Morality repreſenting *theſe* things in ſo very different a Light? They are ſo far from conſidering them as *Means* or *Helps* to *Virtue*, that they will not even allow them to be ſo much as *compatible* with it; a great part of our Duty conſiſting, as they tell us, in

* Let ſuch Gentlemen as theſe (of Taſte) be as extravagant as they pleaſe, or as irregular in their Morals, they muſt at the ſame time diſcover their Inconſiſtency, live at variance with themſelves, and in contradiction to that Principle, on which they ground their higheſt Pleaſure or Entertainment. *Charact.* Vol. I. 136.——For all Vice is Diſorder, Confuſion, and a perpetual Diſcord of Life——*Æſtuat, & vitæ diſconvenit ordine toto*——is its true Character. In vain is the Love of Order, Proportion, Symmetry, pretended in the midſt of ſuch flagrant Incongruities.

the

the *abſolute Contempt* and *Renunciation* of them.

I know no Authority they have to ſay ſo, (replied *Hortenſius:*) there is certainly nothing in the nature of the things *themſelves*, that determines the *Uſe* of them to be *unlawful.* That it may be ſo in *particular* Caſes is owing to *accidental* Circumſtances; and is no more than may be ſaid of the *beſt* and moſt *innocent* things in the World. The moſt improved *Elegancies* of Life are no more *immoral* in *themſelves* than its *cheapeſt* and *coarſeſt Accommodations.* There is as little Crime in building a *Palace* to ſome People, as there is to others in raiſing a *Cottage.* *Painting* and *Gilding* and other *ornamental Arts* are as allowable in their own nature, as the uſe of *Dirt* or *Stones.* For " what greater Immorality is " there, as an ingenious Author expreſſes it, " in the Work of the fineſt Chizel, or the " niceſt Plane, than in that of an Ax or a " Saw * ?" Moreover, to what purpoſe can we imagine the Skill and Capacity of Mankind to *improve* and *better* their Condition of Being to have been given them, if they are not at *liberty* to make *uſe* of it? In ſhort, *Philemon*, there can be no Argu-

* Inquiry whether a general Practice of Virtue tends to the Wealth or Poverty of a People. Sect. 3. p. 36.

men

ment of the *abſolute Unlawfulneſs* even of what you call the *Luxuries of* Life, but may be urged with *equal* Force againſt the moſt *ordinary Comforts*, I had almoſt ſaid the very *Neceſſaries* of it. For theſe can only differ in *Degree*, not in *Kind*; and if it be allowed us to provide for the Happineſs of our *preſent* Being in a *leſs* degree, it will be difficult to give a Reaſon why we ſhould not do ſo in a *greater*, even in the *greateſt* we are capable of. I ſpeak in general, and not of *particular* Caſes and Circumſtances.

I am glad, (ſaid I) *Hortenſius*, to find you of opinion that *Pleaſure* and *Virtue* are ſuch good *Friends*. I thought they had been always repreſented as in the *Grecian* Fable, drawing quite *different* ways *. I am ſure I could mention ſome Writers in Morality, who lay as great a ſtreſs upon *Self-denial*, as if it was indeed the very *Eſſence* of all *Virtue*. And yet when one conſiders the Matter *cloſely*, one cannot but ſuſpect there muſt be ſome Error in the Account; for if Self-denial, as *ſuch*, have any *Merit* in it, the Conſe-

* Εννοεις ω Ἡρακλεις, (ἢ κακια υπολαβουσα ειπεν) ως χαλεπην και μακραν οδον επι τας ευφροσυνας ἡ γυνη σοι αυτη διηγειται. Εγω δε ραδιαν και βραχειαν οδον επι την ευδαιμονιαν αξω σε. *Xen.* Mem. Soc. lib. 2.

quence

quence is unavoidable, that the *greater* Self-denial, the *greater* Degree of Virtue. But this is more than they *themſelves* will admit of; and indeed it is a Notion that leads to infinite *Abſurdities*.

NOT *greater* (ſaid *Hortenſius*) than have been *actually* practiced in many parts of the World upon this very Principle. The *Auſterities* to which People have ſubmitted upon a falſe Perſuaſion of *Religion* are almoſt as incredible, as they are ſhocking.

I could wiſh (ſaid I) we might examine a little more particularly into the Merits of this Queſtion; and inquire upon what foundation a Perſuaſion ſo extravagant in itſelf, and ſo miſchievous in its Conſequences to the Peace and Happineſs of Mankind, ſhould yet have ſo commonly prevailed in the World.

AT preſent (replied *Hortenſius*) we are too near home to enter upon ſo large a Topic. We will adjourn it, if you pleaſe, till to-morrow Evening; when, if the Weather prove favorable for our *walking* as uſual, it may afford us no unuſeful matter of Entertainment.

PART II.

AS great a Friend as you know me to be, *Hydaſpes*, to *fair Weather* and *Sunſhine*, believe me I never gave it a more *ſincere* welcome than upon looking out the next Morning. The greateſt part of the Day we were obliged to attend ſome Company that came in upon us. But the Interruptions of *other* Subjects could not keep my Thoughts from glancing often upon *that* which we had ſo lately entered upon, and which was by agreement to imploy our Evening's Speculation. Inſomuch that I was ſometimes, I am afraid, leſs attentive to the general Converſation that was carrying on, than I could well juſtify to myſelf in point of Good-Breeding and Civility. When the Afternoon was pretty far advanc'd, our Viſitants who came from ſome diſtance, were obliged to leave us. *Hortenſius* had little more than time to give ſome neceſſary Orders in his Family, before the Heat of the Day was enough worn off to invite us abroad, in one of the moſt delightful Evenings I have ever known.

I was going to remind him of the Point he had ingaged to ſpeak to, when I found myſelf very agreably prevented by his breaking into it of his own accord in the following manner.—— The *Stillneſs* of the *Evening*, (ſaid he) *Philemon*, is at all times a very conſiderable Help to ſerious Reflection. It *ſooths* and *compoſes* our Thoughts, and throws the Mind into a State of *Peace* and *Tranquillity* analogous to *that* of itſelf. But never ſurely can the *Advantages* of it be more *conſpicuous* than in the Diſquiſition we are now to enter upon concerning the general *Lawfulneſs* of *Pleaſure*; ſeeing it does *itſelf* abound with ſo many *refined* and *exquiſite Entertainments* neceſſarily *offering* themſelves to our *Senſe*, as may in great meaſure decide the Point to our hands, and render all other Proofs ſuperfluous. How *charming*, *Philemon*, appears the *whole Face* of *Nature* about us! What an *uniform Variety* in thoſe natural Landſcapes! what a *delightful Melody* in the Woods! what an *agreable Verdure* in the Meadows! what a *cooling Freſhneſs* in the Air! what an *exquiſite Fragrancy* in the mingled Scents of Shrubs and Flowers! whilſt, as *Milton* elegantly ſpeaks,

gentle Gales
Fanning their odoriferous Wings diſpenſe

Native Perfumes, and whiſper whence they ſtole
Their balmy Spoils *.

Above all, *Philemon*, what an inimitable *Scene* of *Beauty* is now offering itſelf to our Obſervation in the View of yonder *ſetting Sun* innobled with all that diverſity of finely painted Clouds, which, as if deſirous to continue his Preſence amongſt us, ſeem, as it were, to *retard* the *parting Ray*, and give it back again to our Sight in thoſe multiplied Reflexions, which *adorn* the Weſtern Horizon! At the ſame time, behold there in the Eaſt the *Moon's more ſober Light* † beginning to diſcloſe itſelf! See her *riſing*, as the ſame divine *Milton* has it, in *clouded Majeſty* ‖! And as the *Strength* of Day-light gradually wears away, preparing to introduce the *milder Graces* of the Evening! Who can reflect on the *delightful Viciſſitude*, and not feel a ſecret Tranſport ſpringing up in his Breaſt, the Expreſſion of a devout Gratitude towards the beneficent *Author* of his Happineſs? But how, *Philemon*, does the Rapture yet grow upon us, when, borrowing Helps from a more *improved Philoſophy*, we conſider the Glories we are now ſur-

* *Par. Loſt*, Book IV. 155.
† Mr. *Pope*'s Epiſt. of the Char. of Women, 158.
‖ *Par. Loſt*, B. IV. 606, 7.

veying,

veying, not as confined to the little Globe of our *Earth*, to the Obſervation of a few retired *Speculatiſts here* like *ourſelves*; but that a *Scene* of the *ſame* kind may probably in every conceivable Moment of Duration be preſenting itſelf to ſome or other of the rational Inhabitants of thoſe *numberleſs Worlds* which lie diffuſed in the wide Expanſes of *Æther*; and be entertaining the curious *Spectator* of Nature in Regions of ſo immenſe a Diſtance from our own, that the Imagination turns giddy at the very thought of it! For who ſhall preſume to ſet bounds to the Productions of *infinite Power* actuated by *infinite Benevolence*? Who ſhall circumſcribe the *Theatre* upon which an *Omnipotent Goodneſs* may think proper to diſplay itſelf? Queſtionleſs thoſe *ſparkling Fires* which are preparing to roll over our Heads have a *nobler* Uſe than barely to ſpangle our particular *Hemiſphere*; a Benefit which every *paſſing Cloud* can deprive us of!——How much more rational is it to conſider them as the ſeveral *Suns* of different *Syſtems* of *Planets*, diſpenſing to them the *invaluable* Comforts of Light, and Heat, and refreſhing Influences; and in particular affording them the *grateful Returns* of Day and Night, whoſe *mutual Interchanges* may contribute, as they do with us, to *relieve* and *recommend* each the other?

I am intirely of your Opinion, (ſaid I) *Hortenſius*; the Contemplation of Nature in *rural Scenes* is one of the moſt *delightful Entertainments* that the Mind of Man is capable of. Pleaſures of this kind, if they have not ſo much of Tumult in them as the ſprightlier Joys of the *miſ-named* Voluptuous, have much more of real Satisfaction. Moreover, they leave a good Reliſh behind them when they are paſt; and, which is of much higher Conſideration, are calculated to *improve*, as well as *entertain* our Thoughts. They *refine* our Spirits, and *humanize* our Tempers; ſoften the Mind into a Forgetfulneſs of *Wrath*, *Malice*, and every *turbulent* and *diſquieting* Paſſion *; give *amiable* Impreſſions of *Na-*

* What Anger, Envy, Hatred, or Revenge, can long torment his Breaſt, whom not only the greateſt and nobleſt Objects, but every Sand, every Pebble, every Graſs, every Earth, every Fly can divert? to whom the return of every Seaſon, every Month, every Day, do ſuggeſt a Circle of moſt pleaſant Reflections? If the Ancients preſcribed it as a ſufficient Remedy againſt ſuch violent Paſſions only to repeat the *Alphabet* over, whereby Leiſure was given to the Mind to recover itſelf from any ſudden Fury, then how much more effectual Medicines againſt the ſame Diſtempers may be fetched from the whole *Alphabet* of *Nature*, which repreſents itſelf to our Conſideration in ſo many infinite Volumes! *Sprat's* Hiſt. of the Royal Soc. p. 345.

ture,

ture, *Mankind*, and a *Deity* *; inſpire an *inlarg'd* Senſe of *public Good*, an *exquiſite* Taſte of *Liberty*, *Humanity*, and *private Friendſhip*. They put us in *good Humor* with *ourſelves*, and with the *general* Scheme and Conſtitution of Things †.

Of all natural Speculations (reſum'd *Hortenſius*) there is none more calculated to refine and humanize the Mind, to give

* Thoſe who have a Reliſh of the Beauties of Nature ſeem to converſe, as it were, with Deity in its *kindeſt* and moſt *ingaging* Appearances; not ſo much in the *Majeſty* of Omnipotence, as in the *Mildneſs* of Love and Benignity.

† 'Tis obſervable, we are never ſo well inclined towards other People, as when we are moſt in humor with ourſelves. In reſpect of this happy Frame of Mind, the Man of polite Imagination has great Advantages. He injoys a much larger Range of innocent Pleaſures than lies within the ordinary Compaſs. He has Satisfactions of the moſt exquiſite kind, with which the Vulgar, great and ſmall, are wholly unacquainted. ——He looks upon the World, as it were, in another Light, and diſcovers it in a multitude of Charms that conceal themſelves from the Generality of Mankind. *Spect.* Vol. VI. N°. 411. —— If we caſt an eye on all the Tempeſts which ariſe within our Breaſts, we ſhall find that they are chiefly produc'd by Idleneſs. Whatever ſhall be able to buſy the Minds of Men with a conſtant Courſe of innocent Amuſements, or to fill them with as vigorous and pleaſant Images, as thoſe ill Impreſſions by which they are deluded, it will certainly have a ſurer effect in the compoſing and purifying of their Thoughts, than all the rigid Precepts of the Stoical, or the empty Diſtinctions of the Peripatetic Moraliſts. *Sprat's* Hiſt. R. S. 343.

it

it an inlarged and liberal Senſe of Things, than the Theory of the heavenly Bodies, as it is opened to us by the modern Philoſophy *. How does it beat down the little Pride of *Conqueſt*, the Triumphs of *Ambition*, the Glories of *Empire*, tho' we were Maſters of them to a far *greater* degree than ever fell within the compaſs of any human Proweſs, to conſider, that not this or that *particular* Spot or *Country* only, but the *whole Earth* itſelf, the moſt extended Scene of ſublunary Greatneſs that even the Wantonneſs of Imagination can figure to us, is no more than a *ſingle Point* in the *Immenſity* of the Univerſe †! And that an *Alexander*, or a *Cæſar*, after all the

* What room can there be for low and little things in a Mind ſo nobly imployed? What ambitious Diſquiets can torment that Man, who has ſo much Glory before him? *Sprat*'s Hiſt. 345.

† We are told by *Plutarch* that it had this Effect upon *Alexander*, when he heard the Philoſopher reaſoning concerning a Plurality of Worlds. Αλεξανδρος Αναξαρχου περι κοσμων απειριας ακουων εδακρυε, και των φιλων ερωτωντων ὁ, τι πεπονθεν, ουκ αξιον (εφη) δακρυειν, ει κοσμων ουτων απειρων, ἑνος ουδεπω κυριοι γεγοναμεν; *De An. tranq.* p. 466.

His Conduct upon this Occaſion is well expoſed by the Satiriſt——

Unus Pellæo juveni non ſufficit orbis:
Æſtuat infelix anguſti limite mundi,
Ut Gyaræ clauſus ſcopulis, parvâque Seripho.——

And the Reflection he makes upon it is very moral and judicious. *Juv.* Sat. X. lib. 4. 168.

fine

fine things that are ſaid of them by *Poets* and *Hiſtorians*, the one with all *Greece* at his Devotion, and the other, as Mr. *Pope* ſomewhere excellently paints him, with a *Roman Senate at his heels*, in all the *Pageantry* of Victory, the *Exultation* of flattered Succeſs, might yet appear to the Eye of *ſuperior* Intelligences as really *low* and *little*, with regard to the ſcope of their Ambition, as if, like Children, they had been all the while laying out themſelves in purſuit of a rich *Plume* of *Feathers*, or inamoured of the Muſic of a *Rattle* *! Alas that being full as *idly* imployed, they ſhould not have been likewiſe as *innocently ſo* † !

BUT

* The Poet thought he had ſufficiently reproached this Hero-Madneſs, when he upbraidingly addreſſed himſelf to one of great Character that way in this very ſevere Sarcaſm——

——*I demens, & ſævas curre per Alpeis*
Ut pueris placeas, & declamatio fias. Ibid. 166.

† This Thought is finely touched by *Seneca* in his firſt Book *de Clementia*.——Quod iſtud, Dii boni, malum eſt, occidere, ſævire, delectari ſono catenarum, & civium capita decidere, quocumque ventum eſt multum ſanguinis fundere, aſpectu ſuo terrere, ac fugare? quæ alia vita eſſet, ſi leones urſique regnarent? ſi ſerpentibus in nos, & noxioſiſſimo cuique animali daretur poteſtas? illa rationis expertia, & a nobis immanitatis crimine damnata, abſtinent ſuis; & tuta eſt etiam inter feras ſimilitudo: horum ne a neceſſariis quidem rabies temperat ſibi, ſed externa, ſuaque, in æquo habet, quo poſſit, exercitatior a ſingulorum cædibus, deinde in exitia gentium ſerpere. nullum orna-

But not to inſiſt, *Philemon*, upon the many *excellent Moralities* to which Thoughts of this nature evidently lead us, (tho' this, it muſt be owned, is no inconſiderable ſupport of our main Principle, by repreſenting to us ſome of the nobleſt *Satisfactions* of Life, as connected with the higheſt *moral Improvements* of it *) let us conſider

mentum Principis faſtigio dignius pulchriuſque eſt, quam illa corona ob cives ſervatos. Non hoſtilia arma detracta victis; non currus barbarorum ſanguine cruenti; non parta bello ſpolia. Hæc divina potentia eſt, gregatim ac publice ſervare: multos autem occidere, & indiſcretos, incendii, ac ruinæ potentia eſt. *Sen.* de Clementia Lib 1. ap. finem. ——A very good modern Author has adopted this humane Sentiment, and given it a very beautiful Turn thus——

The Grecian *Chief, Enthuſiaſt of his Pride,*
With Rage and Terror ſtalking by his ſide,
Raves round the Globe; he ſoars into a God!
Stand faſt Olympus, *and ſuſtain his Nod.*
The Peſt divine in horrid Grandeur reigns,
And thrives on Mankind's Miſeries and Pains.
And cannot thrice ten hundred Years unpraiſe
The boiſt'rous Boy, and blaſt his guilty Bays?
Why want we then Encomiums on the Storm,
Or Famine, or Volcano? they perform
Their mighty Deeds; they Hero like can ſlay,
And ſpread their ample Deſarts in a Day.

Univ. Paſſion, Sat. VII. p. 163, 4.

* The Antients plainly had this Notion of natural Contemplations, and conſider them as having a moral Uſe and Tendency. So *Tully* tells us, that the Order and Regularity of external Nature is intended as a Model for the Imitation of Mankind in their private and particular Syſtem. Ipſe autem Homo ortus eſt ad

ſider the Conſtitution of Things in its more obvious Appearance, merely as a *natural Foundation* of *Pleaſure* to us. A Man muſt have loſt his very *Senſes*, and become a piece of *uninform'd* Mechaniſm, before he can behold the *chearful Face* of *Nature* with Coldneſs and Indifferency. No ſooner does he open his Eyes, but numberleſs *gay Scenes* immediately diſplay themſelves to his view; the various Forms, the Arrangements, the Colorings of ſurrounding Objects inſtantly ſtrike his Attention; and all Nature appears to him, as was ſaid of the *Author* of it, *in perfect Beauty* *. Whilſt his Hearing continues unimpaired, he will be often very *agreably* entertained with grateful Sounds in the *natural* Muſic of Birds, the Fannings of Woods, the Purling of Streams, or the Falls of Water. In ſpight of the moſt *ſullen Sanctity*, which would deprive him

ad mundum *contemplandum* & *imitandum*. De Nat. Deorum, Lib. II. p. 142,3. *ed. Dav.*——Parallel to that Paſſage in his Treatiſe *de Senectute*—Credo Deos immortales ſparſiſſe animos in corpora humana, ut eſſent, qui cæleſtium *ordinum* contemplantes, *imitarentur* eum vitæ *modo* atque *conſtantia*—*ed. Græv.* p. 448. 21. To the ſame purpoſe *M. Antoninus* adviſes, Περισκοπειν ας-ρων δρομας, ὡσπερ συμπεριθεονται, και πας των σ-οιχειων εις αλληλα μεταβολας συνεχως ενvοειν, αποκαθαιρκσι γαρ αἱ τατων φαντασιαι τον ρυπον τα χαμαι βια. Lib. 7. 47. Ibid. Lib. 11. 27.

* Pſalm. 50. 1.

of the innocent Comforts of his Being, he will be ſometimes *unavoidably* refreſhed with cooling Breezes, or cheared with delicious Odors. The Benefits of Light, and Sunſhine, healthful Air, and kindly Seaſons, muſt *force* many very *ſenſible Satisfactions* upon him, whether he will or not; and by a *merciful Violence* often conſtrain him to be *happy* *. Even the appointed means of preſerving *Life* itſelf muſt let in upon him many *comfortable* Senſations; nor can he ſatisfy the neceſſary *Demands* of his animal Nature, without a conſiderable *Indulgence* and *Gratification* of it †. So largely has an all-bountiful Creator

* Non dat Deus beneficia. Unde ergo iſta quæ poſſides? quæ das? quæ negas? quæ ſervas? quæ rapis? unde hæc innumerabilia, oculos, aureis, animum mulcentia?——Si domus tibi donetur, in quâ marmoris aliquid reſplendeat, & tectum nitidius auro aut coloribus ſparſum, non mediocre munus vocabis: ingens tibi domicilium, ſine ullo incendii aut ruinæ metu, ſtruxit, in quo vides non tenues cruſtas, ſed integras lapidis pretioſiſſimi moles, ſed totas variæ diſtinctæque materiæ, cujus tu parvula fruſta miraris; tectum vero aliter nocte, aliter interdiu fulgens. *Sen.* de Ben. Lib. 4. cap. 5. 6. —— It is very manifeſt, that the Author of Nature is ſo far from forbidding us Entertainments, that he has put it out of our power not to injoy them in great plenty and variety, by making almoſt every thing about us ſo gay and delightful. *Campbell's* ΑΡΕΤΗ-ΛΟΓΙΑ, p. 110. and elſewhere.—Spect. Vol. 5. N°. 387. 393.

† Unde illa luxuriam quoque inſtruens copia? neque enim neceſſitatibus tantummodo noſtris proviſum eſt:

ator provided for the Happineſs and Good of every *ſenſitive* Being, that no Efforts of *moroſe* and *peeviſh* Virtue can entirely overrule the *benevolent* Conſtitution of Nature, but even the moſt *ingenious* Artificers of their *own Miſery* ſhall be often *unavoidably* diſappointed *.

eſt: uſque in delicias amamur. tot arbuſta, non uno modo frugifera, tot herbæ ſalutares, tot varietates ciborum per totum annum digeſtæ, ut inerti quoque fortuita terræ alimenta præberent. jam animalia omnis generis——ut omnis rerum naturæ pars tributum aliquod nobis conferret—unde iſta palatum tuum ſaporibus exquiſitis ultra ſatietatem laceſſentia? unde hæc irritamenta jam laſſæ voluptatis? *Sen.* ubi ſupra.—— Nevertheleſs the ſenſual Pleaſures of Taſte are the leaſt part of that Happineſs to which our Appetites of Hunger and Thirſt are intended to lead us. They are the Foundation of many ſocial Exerciſes, and moral Entertainments. Ου γαρ ὡς αἰγειου ἡκει κομιζων ἑαυτου εμπλησαι προς το δειπνον ὁ νυν εχων, αλλα και σπυδαται τι και παιξαι, και ακυσαι, και ειπειν, ὁ ὁ καιρος παρακαλει τυς συνοντας, ει μελλυσι μετ' αλληλων ἡδεως εσεσθαι. Plut. con. ſept. Sap. 147.—— Οικυ εργον εστι τυ Διονυσυ μεθη και οινῳ, αλλ' ἡν εμποιυσι δια τυτων φιλοφροσυνην, και ποθον, και ὁμιλιαν ἡμιν, και συνηθειαν προς αλληλυς. ibid. 156. As a Proof of this, could any Man be pleaſed with a Company of *Statues* ſurrounding his Table ſo artfully contrived as to conſume his various Courſes, and inſpired by ſome Servant, like ſo many Puppets, to give the uſual trifling Returns in praiſe of their Fare? *Inquiry into Orig.* &c. p. 236.

* This Profuſion of the fineſt Delights ſpread all over the Heavens and the Earth can never be counted vicious or criminal, ſince the Author of Nature has made it plainly inevitable. ΑΡΕΤΗ-ΛΟΓΙΑ, p. 110.

ONE

One would think, (interpoſed I) *Hortenſius*, that *Happineſs* was not ſo very *uninviting* a *Form*, that Men ſhould need to be thus over-ruled, as it were, to imbrace it. Yet ſuch is the perverſe Blindneſs of *Superſtition*, that it even takes a Merit to itſelf in rejecting as far as may be the *offered Good*, and throwing *back* the Favours of indulgent Heaven upon its hands as not *worth* acceptance. A ſtrange way of recommending itſelf to the *Deity*, by fighting, as it were, continually againſt him *! Whilſt, as you rightly have obſerved, if there be any Meaning in natural Language, the whole *Voice* of Things univerſally reclaims to the *prepoſterous* Devotion.

We may imagine (replied he) that the kind Author of the Univerſe, foreſeeing what *uncouth* Pains ſome gloomy Spirits would take to bring Miſery upon themſelves under a fond Perſuaſion of doing him ſervice by it, has, in pity to their deluded Apprehenſions, conſtituted almoſt

* Superſtitio error inſanus eſt: amandos timet, quos colit, violat. *Sen.* Epiſt. 123. ap. finem. For what elſe is it but to affront and injure the Deity, for the Superſtitious to imagine, as *Plutarch* ſpeaks, Φοβερου το ευμενες, και τυραννικου το πατρικου; και ελαβερου, το κηδεμονικου, και το αμικτον αγριον και θηριωδες; De Super. 167.

every

every thing about us a neceſſary Source of *Pleaſure* to the human Breaſt, on purpoſe in ſome degree to *counterbalance* the Effects of ſuch unnatural Perverſeneſs: inſomuch that a Man muſt throw up his very *Being* itſelf, who would entirely exclude *every* joyous Senſation. And thus does the *Aſcetic-Principle* at laſt defeat its own ends; ſince it can no otherwiſe fill up the *Meaſure* of our Mortification, than by depriving us of the very *Capacity* of it. The ſame extravagant Self-denial that gives the *final Stroke* to our Happineſs, by a fortunate Inconſiſtence with itſelf, *determining* our Virtue likewiſe.

But we are by no means got to the bottom of this Argument. Hitherto we have dwelt only on the Surface or Outſide of things. If we deſcend a little into the *Philoſophy* of thoſe ſeveral delightful Perceptions which Nature ſo liberally adminiſters to us, we ſhall diſcover a more *exquiſite* Apparatus in the *Oeconomy* of our ſenſible Pleaſures than is generally, I believe, apprehended. There is no one of our Senſes that affords us ſo large a Variety of pleaſing Ideas as our *Sight*. 'Tis to this we are indebted for all that abundant Profuſion of *natural Beauty* that adorns the whole viſible Creation. Now what are the ſeveral *Colorings* of outward Objects,

thoſe

thoſe magnificent *Shews* and *Apparitions* that on all hands preſent themſelves to our View; thoſe *Lights* and *Shades* of Nature's Pencil, that ſo agreably *diverſify* the general Face of the Univerſe? what, I ſay, are they, *Philemon*, but a ſet of *arbitrary Modifications* of the *perceiving* Mind, to which the ſeveral Objects *themſelves* have not the leaſt *Reſemblance* *? For what Agreement is there in the nature of the thing between a certain particular Bulk, Figure, or Motion of the inſenſible parts of external Matter, the only *real* Qualities of the ſeveral viſible Bodies that ſo variouſly entertain our Sight, and our Ideas of *Light* and *Colors?* and yet what a joyleſs and uncomfortable Figure would theſe things make to us, if we ſaw them in their *naked* and *philoſophic* Realities! What a large field of Pleaſure and Admiration would be loſt to us, were all the *maſterly Touches* of natural Painting, the *variegated Scenery* of Heaven and Earth, at once to diſappear, and an *undiſtinguiſhed Blot* to overſpread the *univerſal* Syſtem! To what purpoſe then ſuch a *prodigal* Expence of Art and Ornament in the Furniture of this *ſtupendous Theatre* of Nature, but to *charm* the *raviſhed* Senſe of the intended *Spectator* by

* See *Locke*'s Eſſay con. Hum. Und. chap. 8.

the

the proſpect of theſe *imaginary* Glories *? We may purſue this Speculation yet farther——The Perceptions of our Taſte and Smell, the Ideas of Sounds, from which are derived all the *inchanting* Powers of Harmony, an *Entertainment* which ſome have thought worthy of *Heaven* itſelf, the Senſations of Heat and Cold, and divers other Affections of our Touch, are quite *other* things in our Minds from what they are in the ſeveral *exciting* Objects. Providence, as if the *real* Qualities of Bodies were too *ſcanty* a Foundation of Pleaſure to the human Senſe, has ſuperadded to them many *imaginary* Properties and Powers of affecting us, in order to *inlarge* the Sphere of our Bleſſings, and in a more eminent Degree to *indear* to us the Reliſh of our preſent Being †.

To take the matter, *Philemon*, in a different light,——it is obſervable that ſome of the greateſt *Beauties* of Nature are at the ſame time the greateſt *Benefits* of it. Fruits which are moſt *agreable* to the Eye, are often the *pleaſanteſt* to the Taſte likewiſe. There is nothing that affords a greater

* *Spect.* Vol. 6. N°. 413. Our Souls are at preſent delightfully loſt and bewilder'd in a pleaſing Deluſion, and we walk about like the Hero of a Romance.—— Alſo N°. 387. Vol. 5.

† *Lock. Spect.* as before.

ſupply of Comforts to human Life than the Improvements of Agriculture; and at the ſame time there is not a *finer* piece of Landſcape than the View of a *fertile Country* richly *diverſify'd* with the ſeveral Products of *natural Grain*; whoſe agreable *Wavings* add Novelty to their other Charms, and entertain us no leſs with the Variety of the Scene, than with the inimitable Beauty of it. The ſeveral kinds of Plantation are at once *uſeful* and *entertaining* to the Owners of them. They not only throw *a Man's whole Eſtate into a Garden*, as the Spectator ſpeaks, but by a happy Union of the *agreable* and *beneficial* improve his *Poſſeſſions*, as well as his *Proſpect*. Who ſees not, as the ſame Author, I remember, goes on, that *a Mountain ſhaded with Oaks*, or *a Marſh overgrown with Willows*, are both more *advantageous* and more *beautiful*, than either of them in their uncultivated State *?

And yet, (I could not avoid interrupting) *Hortenſius*, ſo careful has the great Diſpoſer of things been that *no part* of his Works ſhould paſs *unrecommended* to us, that even the ſeeming *Wildneſſes* and *Imperfections* of Nature, as Marſhes, Deſerts, Rocks, Precipices, are not without their

* *Spect.* Vol. 6. N°. 414.

Charms;

Charms; they entertain us with their *Novelty*, and *Magnificence* at leaſt, if not with their *Beauty* *. And moreover they may be conſidered as *Foils* to the more *graceful* parts; or as *Diſcords* happily interſperſed in the *Compoſition* of things, to render the *general Harmony* of Nature more exquiſite and inchanting.

It may be added, (returned he) that not only *Irregularities* and *ſeeming Imperfections*, but even *Horrors* themſelves, when Reaſon or Experience has removed the firſt Impreſſions of our *Fear*, are no ſmall Foundation of *Pleaſure* to us: as *Fire*, *Ruins*, *Hurricanes*, a *ſtormy Sky*, a *troubled Ocean*, a *wild Beaſt in chains*, or a *dead Monſter* †: either from the natural Magnificence, or Novelty of the Objects that excite them, as in the laſt Article; or from the *agreable* Contemplation of our own *perſonal Safety*; whilſt they are conſidered by us as at once *dreadful* and *harmleſs* ‖.

* *Spect.* Vol. 6. 412. 5. 387.

† *Hutch.* Inquiry, p. 72.

‖ *Spect.* Vol. 6. N°. 418. *Lucretius* was well acquainted with this Source of Pleaſure, as may be ſeen in his ſecond Book:

Suave mari magno, turbantibus æquora ventis,
E terrâ alterius magnum ſpectare laborem:
Non quia vexari quemquam eſt jucunda voluptas,
Sed, quibus ipſe malis careas, quia cernere ſuave eſt.

Lib. II. 1.

WHAT an amiable Scene of things, (ſaid I) do theſe Reflections open to our View! thoſe parts of Nature which are more immediately adapted to our *Entertainment* or our *Uſe*, are as *common*, as they are *beneficial*. The ſeeming *Deviations* from either, (beſides that it is probable they have a *real*, tho' more *remote* Connection with both) are not only *few*, and *extraordinary*, but moreover this very Circumſtance of their being *ſo*, by gratifying our Taſte of Novelty, gives them a ſort of relative *Agreableneſs*.

IF the ſeeming Imperfections of *external* Nature (reſumed *Hortenſius*) are thus beautifully inſtrumental to our greater Pleaſure, much more may this be ſaid of thoſe of our own *private* and *perſonal* Syſtem, the Imperfections of our *Senſes* and Powers of Perception. It has been often, and very juſtly, obſerved by Writers in behalf of a Providence, that a more *improved* State of our bodily Organs would in the preſent Situation of things not only deprive us of ſeveral Advantages we are now poſſeſſed of, but convert ſome of our greateſt *Pleaſures* into the moſt exquiſite *Torments*. Whilſt, as it is admirably repreſented by the incomparable Author of the Eſſay on Man, were our feeling increaſed to a more *delicate* Senſe, we ſhould only become

tremblingly

tremblingly alive all o'er,
To ſmart and agonize at ev'ry Pore.
Or quick Effluvia darting thro' the Brain,
Die of a Roſe in aromatic Pain *.

What a delightful and entertaining Scene, *Philemon*, is even now diſplaying itſelf to our Obſervation, in this ſpacious Canopy of Heaven inriched with an Infinity of *ſhining Orbs* that ſhed their benign Influences upon our Heads, and make Night auſpicious! and yet we are indebted for all this beautiful Repreſentation of things to the *Imperfection* of our Sight in diſcerning Diſtances. How elſe could we delude ourſelves with imagining the ſeveral Bodies that compoſe it, Bodies of ſuch infinitely varied Magnitudes, and Diſtances from each other, to be as ſo many *lucid Points* in the *Circumference* of a great concave Sphere †? But however we are deceived

* *Pope*'s Eſſay on Man, I. 189. How, ſays an eminent Writer, could we ſuſtain the Preſſure of our very Clothes in ſuch a Condition; much leſs carry Burthens and provide for Conveniences of Life? we could not bear the Aſſault of an Inſect, or a Feather, or a Puff of Air without Pain. There are Examples now of wounded Perſons, that have roared for Anguiſh and Torment at the Diſcharge of Ordnance, tho' at a very great diſtance: what inſupportable Torture then ſhould we be under upon a like Concuſſion in the Air, when all the whole Body would have the Tenderneſs of a Wound? *Bentley*'s *Boyle*'s Lect. Serm. 3. p. 99.

† *Hutch.* Inquir. p. 20.

by

by this Appearance, 'tis a Deception greatly in our favour; and whoever ſhould inlarge the Sphere of our *Viſion*, would leſſen that of our *Entertainment* *.

To

* This Obſervation may be carried much farther; 'tis to the Imperfection of our Sight that a great deal of that Beauty we diſcern in outward Objects is owing. If our Eye was ſo acute as to rival the fineſt Microſcopes, it would make every thing appear rugged and deformed: the moſt finely poliſhed Cryſtal would be uneven and rough; the Sight of our own ſelves would affright us. *Bent.* p. 97.—So likewiſe was our Hearing increaſed proportionably, every Breath of Wind would incommode us: we ſhould have no Sleep in the ſilenteſt Nights and moſt ſolitary Places: we muſt inevitably be ſtruck deaf or dead with the Noiſe of a Clap of Thunder. *Bent.* p. 98.—Nay the Author of the excellent Eſſay goes yet farther, and ſays of Man,

If Nature thunder'd in his opening Ears,
And ſtunn'd him with the Muſic of the Spheres,
How would he wiſh that Heav'n had left him ſtill
The whiſp'ring Zephyr, and the purling Rill?

I. 194.

There is a very material Uſe of the preſent Conſtitution of our Senſes yet behind. Had we a microſcopic Eye, we could not ſee at one view above the Space of an Inch, and it would take a conſiderable time to ſurvey the mountainous Bulk of our own Bodies. *Bent.* p. 97. We ſhould be literally, what a ludicrous Author makes his fabulous Voyager to have appeared to the Inhabitants of a certain Iſland, to ourſelves and one another, ſo many *Men-Mountains*. We might *inſpect a Mite* with great Curioſity, but could neither *comprehend the Heavens*, nor any other Objects of our preſent Sight. Or if our Hearing were more exquiſite, what Confuſion and Inconvenience would it introduce into civil Life? Whiſpers might then be as juſtly criminal, as they have been made ſo

by

To paſs on to another Topic.——We have already, *Philemon*, conſidered the Love of Novelty as it is calculated to give pleaſure to certain Objects, that have otherwiſe *little* or *none* in themſelves *; let us inquire next how it ſeems to affect ſuch as confeſſedly have the *greateſt*. 'Tis a well-known Truth, that *the Eye is not ſatisfied with ſeeing, nor the Ear with hearing* †. Poſſeſſion ſoon cloys and fatigues the Senſe, and Change is a neceſſary Requiſite to laſting Satisfaction. Nay ſo intoxicated are we often with this fickle Paſſion, as to give up a *greater* good in purchaſe of a *leſs*, meerly becauſe it is an *untried* one. In the mean while, however we may pervert the Paſſion to our detriment in particular Inſtances, the general Uſe and Deſign of it is remarkably beneficial to us. Providence, having made *every thing* in ſome way or other the means of *Good* to Man, forbids him to dwell long upon the *ſame Objects*, in order that he may more *fully* experiment this *comfortable Truth*, and by *different* Applications taſte the *varied Good* that is ſo liberally provided for him.

by ſome mercileſs Tyrants.—What Affairs that moſt require it, could be tranſacted with Secrecy? *Bent. Pope*, as before.

* *Spect.* Vol. 6. N°. 412.

† *Eccleſ.* ch. 1. v. 8.

You was hinting, (ſaid I) *Hortenſius*, ſome time ago at the ſingular Kindneſs of our Creator in annexing a ſenſible Delight, Refreſhment, and Complacency, to the Uſe of thoſe *ordinary* Means of Subſiſtence, by which *particular* and *individual* Life is appointed to be ſuſtained. The Obſervation is yet more eminently true of thoſe more *myſterious* ones by which is provided for the Continuance and Propagation of the *Species* of Mankind. Nature has given a very high Reliſh of Pleaſure to the *Concurrence* of the Sexes, in order, no doubt, to counterbalance the unavoidable Inconveniences of Marriage; to ſweeten the Pangs of Child-birth, to recommend the Fatigues of domeſtic Concerns, of the Care of Offspring, of the Education and Settlement of a Family; and moreover to be the Foundation and the Cement of thoſe numberleſs tender Sympathies, mutual Indearments, and Reciprocations of Love between the married Parties *themſelves*, which make up not the *Morality* only, but even the *chief Happineſs* of Conjugal Life *; and at the Envy of which, in ſo remarkable an Exemplification of it, as the Condition of the firſt Parents of Mankind is repreſented to have been by the tender and paſſionate *Milton*, 'tis no wonder their great Enemy

* *Hutch.* Inquir. 256, 257.

ſhould turn aſide from beholding their mutual Careſſes, as unable to indure the Pain of his malicious Reſentment at ſuch *ſuperior Delicacy* of Injoyment.

——*Aſide the Devil turn'd*
For Envy, yet with jealous leer malign
Ey'd them aſkance——— *.

An Image of ſuch exquiſite *Force* and *Beauty* this, that the fondeſt Lovers of Antiquity may be challeng'd to produce its Parallel in the moſt approved Writers of any Age or Country!

And yet, *Philemon*, (replied he) as careful as our Creator has been to keep off any unjuſt *Stain* from an Inſtitution ſo wiſely adapted to all the Purpoſes of human Condition, and which draws us no leſs forcibly by the Charm of the higheſt *moral*, than *ſenſible* Pleaſures; he has not been able to ſcreen it from the Reproaches and Calumnies of ſuperſtitious and enthuſiaſtic Zealots in all Ages, who have done their utmoſt to depreciate Marriage as a *low* and *carnal* State, unworthy the pious Heroiſm of thoſe *refined* Spirits, who ſcorning to act their part well as *mere Men*, aſpire to the Life of *Angels*; and renouncing the *dull* and *ſottiſh* Pleaſures of Senſe, affect a more *acceptable* Obedience to Heaven

† *Milton's* Par. Loſt. B. IV. l. 502.

in imaginary Exerciſes of greater *Purity* and *Perfection* *.

OUR

* This Notion ſeems to have been pretty general amongſt the earlieſt Chriſtian Writers: at leaſt this is the moſt favorable Conſtruction one can put upon many of their very harſh Expreſſions upon this Subject. Thus *Juſtin Martyr* calls Marriage τον δι επιθυμιας ανομον γαμον. ap. Grabe Spicileg. Patrum, Tom. 2. p. 180. And again tells us, και ὁ Κυριος δε ἡμων Ιησους Χριστος ὁ δι αλλο τι εκ παρθενου ετεχθη, αλλ' ἱνα καταργηση γεννησιν επιθυμιας ανομου, και δειξη οτι και δια συνουσιας ανθρωπινης δυνατην ειναι τω Θεω την ανθρωπου πλασιν. Ibid. p. 180, 181. & alibi.——*Irenæus* ſpeaking of the Law of Divorce amongſt the Jews as a matter indulged them, *becauſe of the Hardneſs of their Hearts*, not ſimply right in itſelf, conſiders the lawful Uſe of Marriage under the new Teſtament in the ſame light. —— Et quid dicimus de Veteri Teſtamento hæc? quandoquidem & in novo Apoſtoli hoc idem facientes inveniantur propter prædictam cauſam, ſtatim dicente Paulo; *hæc autem ego dico, non Dominus.* Et iterum. *hoc autem dico ſecundum indulgentiam, non ſecundum præceptum?* Lib. 4. cap. 15. (vulg. 29.) to the ſame purpoſe *Athenagoras*. Το εν παρθενια και εν ευνουχια μεινai μαλλον παρισησι τω Θεω. Legat. Cap. 29. ed. Oxon. *Methodius* in his Banquet of Virgins finds this Sentiment in the very Word which in *Greek* ſignifies Virginity (παρθενια) by a very ſlight Alteration; as does *Jerom* afterwards in the *Latin* Word *cœlebs*.—— Cœlibes (ſays he) unde & ipſum nomen inditum eſt, quod cœlo digni ſint, qui coitu careant. *Hieron.* Op. Tom. 4. p. 228. ed. Par. both probably with equal Authority, that of their own extravagant Fancy only. ——Of the ſame Opinion was *Tertullian*. Nihil tale Paulus indulſit, (ſays he) qui totam carnis neceſſitatem de probis etiam titulis obliterare conatur. indulget nuptias, parcit ſane matrimoniis. hoc ei ſupererat, carnem

OUR Poet, (ſaid I) than whom no one ſeems to have had a tenderer ſenſe of the more improved Felicities of *wedded Love*, has painted, I remember, theſe fantaſtic Refiners in their proper Colors in the following Lines of the ſame incomparable Poem———

———*Hypocrites auſterely talk*
Of Purity, and Place, and Innocence,
Defaming as impure, what God declares
Pure, and commands to ſome, leaves free to all.
Our Maker bids increaſe—who bids abſtain,
But our Deſtroyer—Foe to God and Man?
Hail wedded Love———
Founded in Raſon, loyal, juſt, and pure,
Far be it, that I ſhould write thee Sin, or blame!
Or think thee unbefitting holieſt Place,
Perpetual Fountain of domeſtic Sweets *!

VERY different (returned he) was the Opinion of ſome grave *Fathers* of the *Church*, who were for baniſhing the *Rites*

carnem vel a ſordibus purgare, a *maculis* enim non poteſt. *De Pud.* 568, 569. ed. Lond. in 1689. The Diſtinction, it muſt be owned, is ſomewhat nice, but the comfort is, 'tis *Tertullian*'s Diſtinction, and not St. *Paul*'s. The falſe Reaſonings, as well as groſs Miſapplications of Scripture, to be met with in the generality of the Fathers upon this Article, are endleſs.

* *Milton*'s Par. Loſt, B. IV. 744.

myſterious of connubial Love *, as our Author calls them, from the State of primitive Innocence †; and ſuppoſe, that if Man had preſerved the *original* Perfection of his Nature, Providence would have found out ſome *purer* way of propagating the Species than by the groſs *Senſe of Touch* ‖; a Happineſs vouchſafed to the *Brute* Cre-

* Par. L. B. IV. 742.

† So St. *Baſil.* Tom. 1. Ει δε μη εκ παρεργυ και κατα τον παραδεισον και τον εκει βιον τον Αδαμ επισκεψαιο, ευροις αν αυτον εν μεν παραδεισω μη χρειαν εσχηκοτα γνωναι ἑαυτῆ την γυναικα, μετα δε την παραβασιν, και τον θανατον, και την εκπτωσιν τυ παραδεισυ, τοτε την γυναικα γινωσκοντα. *De vera Virginitate.* p. 771. ed. Par. Of the ſame Opinion was St. *John Chryſoſtom.* Μαλλον δε ἡ παρθενια μεν εξ αρχης και τυ γαμυ προτερα ἡμιν εφανη, δια ταυτα δε επεισηλθεν ὑστερον ὁ γαμος, και πραγμα αναγκαιον ενομιζετο ειναι, ὡς ειγε εμεινεν ὑπακυων ὁ Αδαμ, ουκ αν εδεησε τυτυ. και πως αν, φησιν, αἱ τοσαυται μυριαδες εγενοντο;—ειτε ὁυτως, ειτε ἑτερως, ουκ εχω λεγειν. το γαρ ζητυμενον νυν, ὁτι γαμυ ουκ εδει τω Θεω προς το πολλυς ποιησαι τυς επι γης ανθρωπυς. *De Virg.* Tom. 4. p. 331. ed. Par. vid. & p. 328. So St. *Jerom* writing to *Euſtochium.* Eva in Paradiſo virgo fuit: poſt pelliceas tunicas initium ſumpſit nuptiarum. p. 35. And in his firſt Book againſt *Jovian.* Ac de Adam quidem & Eva illud dicendum, quod ante offenſam in Paradiſo virgines fuerint; poſt peccatum autem, & extra Paradiſum, protinus nuptiæ. Lib. I. p. 160. If this Father ever commends Marriage 'tis upon this very indirect view of it. Laudo nuptias, laudo conjugium, ſed quia mihi virgines generant. (*Epiſt. ad Euſt.* ub. ſup.) lego de ſpinis roſam, de terra aurum, de conchâ margaritam.

‖ *Milton*, B. VIII. 579.

ation,

ation, in common with ourſelves, as a Mark of its pretended *Unworthineſs*; whereas the *Angels*, a nobler Claſs of Beings, and to whom it is ſaid we are one day to be *equal*, are repreſented to us *neither to marry, nor be given in Marriage* *; as an inſtance of their ſuperior Perfection and Dignity.

ADMITTING it to be ſo, (interpoſed I) I ſee no Merit in our aſpiring to be *as the Angels* before our time; 'tis rather a *Deſertion* of our proper Poſt and Duties, and a kind of *breaking in* upon the natural Order of things †.

THAT (returned *Hortenſius*) is the obvious Tendency of all ſuch fanciful Re-

* *Mat.* 9. 30. *Luk.* 20. 36.

† This ſhews the Weakneſs of St. *Baſil*'s Reaſoning upon this Point. Ει γαρ εν τη αναστασει ουτε γαμουσι ουτε γαμιζονται, αλλ' εισιν ως αγγελοι, και οι την παρθενιαν ασκουντες αγγελοι εισιν, εν ευφθαρτοις σαρξι του των ανθρωπων βιον περιπολουντες. και αγγελοι ουκ ασημοι τινες, αλλα και σφοδρα επιφανεστατοι. οτι εκεινων ανευ σαρκων κατα του ουρανου την αφθαρσιαν, τοπω και αβιαστω φυσει παρα τω παμβασιλει των ολων Θεω φυλαττοντων, ουτοι επι γης σαρκος ηδοναις ενοχλουμενοι, και τη πειρα του Διαβολου εκκειμενοι, την αφθαρσιαν ισαγγελον δι αρετης τω ποιητη παραδοξοτερον διεφυλαξαν. *De vera Virg.* p. 767. And yet this is a very common Topic amongſt the Fathers in commendation of Virginity, that, quod alii poſtea in cœlis futuri ſunt, hoc virgines in terrâ eſſe cœperunt. *S. Hier. adv. Jov.* Lib. 1. 178.

finements.

finements. They remove us out of our *appointed* Province, and put us into a *different Claſs* of Being from that which God and Nature have deſigned us for. And where can be the Excellence of thus *intruding* ourſelves into a Character that does not *belong* to us? In reality, *Philemon*, I ſee not how it can be ſaid to be a *Perfection* in *Angels* to live *above* thoſe Injoyments of *Senſe* for which they have neither *Capacity*, nor *Inclination:* at the moſt, it is rather a Privilege or Conſequence of their *incorporeal* Nature, than any *meritorious* Act of their Will *. Certainly however it cannot

* For that the Angels μη γαμυσι μη δε εκγαμιζονται, St. *Chryſoſtom* gives a very ſufficient Reaſon, (as different as his Application of it may be) when he adds that ουκ εισι συμπεπλεγμενοι σαρκι και αἱματι, ουδε επι της γης εχουσι τας διατριβας, ουδε οχλον επιθυμιων ανεχονται. *De Virg.* p. 322. Tho' indeed to reconcile this with the Sentiments of another more antient Father I cannot ſo well undertake, who explains a Paſſage in the fourth Chapter of *Geneſis*, and another in St. *Paul*'s firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, of Angels entertaining a Paſſion for Women. Si mulier, ſays *Tertullian*, poteſtatem habere ſuper caput debet, (1 *Cor.* 11. *v.* 10.) vel eo juſtius virgo, ad quam pertinet quod in causâ eſt. ſi enim propter angelos, ſcilicet quos legimus a Deo & cœlo excidiſſe ob concupiſcentiam fœminarum; quis præſumere poteſt tales angelos, *maculata* jam corpora, & humanæ libidinis *reliquias* deſideraſſe, ut non ad *virgines potius* exarſerint, quarum *flos* etiam humanam libidinem excuſat? nam & ſcriptura ſic ſuggerit, &c. *Tertull. de Virgin. veland.* 177. The Father, we ſee, has a very refined Notion of angelical In-

cannot be *ſuch* in Man to forego any of thoſe natural Pleaſures which his Creator has marked out for him in the very *Condition* of his Being, as *proper Means* of his preſent Happineſs; and accordingly has made his Duty to conſiſt not in the *Renunciation* of his Senſes, but in the *regular Uſe* and *good Government* of them. 'Tis the Excellence of any Being not to ſoar *above* its natural Sphere, but to act well and wiſely *within* it. *Human* Perfection is the Perfection of a *Man*, and not that of an *Angel*. Had Men ſufficiently attended to this plain and obvious Diſtinction, what a Multitude of illiberal Superſtitions, and uncouth Practices in Religion, had never been heard of? but the quite contrary Notion has generally prevailed where Religion has been any part of Men's Concern; and accordingly the World has been pretty much divided between ſuch as have had *too much* Religion, and ſuch as have had *none at all* *; the latter of theſe Characters being indeed a natural Conſequence of

Intriguing. Seriouſly, I know not whether it be more abſurd, thus to bring down the Angels to the level of human Paſſions, or to affect to exalt the human Nature into the State and Condition of Angels: both, I am ſure, are without the leaſt Foundation either in Reaſon or Scripture. But Fathers are not always the beſt Friends to either of theſe.

* It was the juſt Complaint of *Pliny* in his time, aliis nullus eſt deorum reſpectus, aliis pudendus. *Nat. Hiſt.* Lib III. cap. 7.

the

the former *: for whatever an over-forward Zeal may ſuggeſt to People of more *Piety* than *Underſtanding*, all Attempts to raiſe any *part* of Duty too high are in effect ſetting the *whole* much too *low*; whilſt by indeavoring to fetter Men with too great *Reſtraints*, we only provoke them to throw off *all*; and fly to abſolute *Irreligion*, as the only Security againſt the Incroachments of *Bigotry*.

THE Exchange (ſaid I) is very raſh and unwarrantable. Nevertheleſs, ſuch are the Abſurdities of ſome religious Syſtems, that one cannot wonder that a ſtrong Diſguſt to theſe ſhould ſometimes tranſport Men of *freer Spirits* too far, whilſt by a haſty Aſſociation of Religion itſelf with their own nurſery Prejudices concerning it, they are led to diſcard both at the ſame time †. Upon any

* Ἡ δε δεισιδαιμονια τη αθεοτητι και γενεσθαι παρεσχεν αρχην, και γενομενη διδωσιν απολογιαν, ουκ αληθη μεν, ουδε καλην, προσφασεως δε τινος ουκ αμοιρον ουσαν. *Plut. de Sup.* p. 171.

† Whilſt ſome Opinions and Rites (ſays an excellent Writer of our own) are carried to ſuch an immoderate Height, as expoſes the Abſurdity of them to the view of every body but them who raiſe them, not only Gentlemen of the Belles Letters, but even Men of common Senſe, many times ſee thro' them; and then out of Indignation, and an exceſſive renitence, not ſeparating that which is true from that which is falſe, they come to deny both, and fall back into

any other Hypotheſis it ſeems difficult to account for ſome Men's irreconcileable Enmity to Religion, whoſe natural Diſpoſitions are ſuch as might incourage one to hope much better things from them. But the miſtaking *Reverſe of wrong for right* is a very common Deceit; and Men have need of great Caution and Sobriety of thinking to keep clear of it.

For what to ſhun will no great Knowledge need,
But what to follow, is a Taſk indeed *.

'Tis this (returned *Hortenſius*) that is the very Deluſion of thoſe Refiners we were ſpeaking of. Becauſe they are not left at liberty to purſue all the *Extravagancies* of their natural Appetites, therefore they will not allow of any innocent *Gratifications* of them: as if there was no middle way between *Voluptuouſneſs* and *Inſenſibility*; and a Man muſt either *renounce* his animal Nature, or be a *Slave* to it. What is this, *Philemon*, but to *miſtake reverſe of wrong for right* in the moſt glaring inſtance? and for fear of degenerating into *Brutes*, to diſdain to act in Character as *Men?* For certainly if there had been any

into the contrary Extreme, a Contempt of all Religion in general. *Relig. of Nat. del.* p. 60, 61.

* Mr. *Pope*'s Epiſt. to my Lord *Bathurſt*, 201.

Crime in *Senſuality* as *ſuch*, our Creator would never have placed us in ſuch Circumſtances, as to fall under *inevitable* Guilt this way, by the neceſſary Condition of our very Being, every moment of our Lives: a Conſideration which ſome rigid Aſſertors of Mortification would do well to attend to, before they impoſe their own Viſions upon the World under Pretences of ſuperior Sanctity.

I ſuppoſe (ſaid I) they are only ſome *particular kinds* of Senſuality, which are uſually taxed as immoral; for otherwiſe the neceſſary Condition of our very Being itſelf were a State of *perpetual* Immorality. An Imputation that would reflect no ſmall Diſhonour upon the Author of it!

THEY are ſo, (replied he) but 'tis the Effect of a very ſhort and ſcanty way of thinking. For ſince theſe *particular* Species of Senſuality are condemned as *immoral*, without any regard to *civil*, or *ſocial*, or *perſonal* Inconveniences that may ariſe from them, it muſt be only as they have the Nature of *ſenſual Indulgences*. And then what hinders but every other Indulgence of this ſort ſhould be equally condemned with theſe? And thus we are reduced to this unavoidable Dilemma——Either there is no Evil in Senſuality as *ſuch*, or

or there is——If the former be true, then we muſt give ſome *other* Account of the Immorality of the forbidden kinds, than what ariſes from their Senſuality; and ſo indeed we ſhall have a fair way open to proceed in; but withal ſuch an one as muſt intirely deſtroy the Foundation of theſe pretended Refinements in Morality. ——If the latter, then will it become us to take care, leſt by indeavoring to throw off an *imaginary Blemiſh* from *ourſelves*, we caſt a *real* one upon the Purity and Perfection of our *Maker*.

WHAT think you (ſaid I) of the Paſſion of *Shame*, that is an Attendant upon *ſome kinds* of ſenſual Indulgences? Does not this ſeem to argue an *intrinſic* Turpitude in the Acts themſelves; a ſort of conſcious ſenſe of ſome *moral Incongruity* in the very Nature of the particular Pleaſures? And yet *Grotius*, I remember, ſpeaks of the *Pudor circa Res Veneris*, as one of the moſt general Principles in our Nature *. And indeed the Character of Senſuality ſeems to have been in a peculiar degree appropriated to Pleaſures of *this* kind; and they are uſually branded by moral Writers with ſuch particular Epithets of *Infamy*, as if they were of a more

* *De ver. Relig. Chriſt.* Lib. I. Sect. 7.

groſs and debaſing nature than any of the other Pleaſures of Senſe.

WITHOUT entering (ſaid *Hortenſius*) into the *Original* of this Paſſion of Shame, or determining whether it be *natural*, or *acquired*, a Queſtion, as I apprehend, not without its Difficulties; the *Uſe* of it, I think, in Society is very evident. It lays a commodious Reſtraint upon a violent Paſſion, the *public* Gratification of which would be attended with many civil Inconveniences; whilſt, inſtead of *participating of the Myſteries of Love*, as the incomparable Mr. *Wollaſton* ſpeaks, *with Modeſty, as within a Veil or ſacred Incloſure* *, we ſhould be in the Situation of thoſe deſcribed by the Poet,

Quos Venerem incertam rapientes more ferarum
Viribus editior cædebat †.

A Circumſtance happily prevented by the means of this uſeful Paſſion.

YOU are not then of the Opinion of that learned Caſuiſt, (returned I) who accounts for the Shame attending theſe Pleaſures of the *ſixth Senſe*, as he is pleas'd to call them,

* *Rel. of Nat.* p. 180.
† *Hor.* Sat. Lib. 1. Sat. 3. 109.

from

from their *diſangelical Nature*. Not that they have any *intrinſic Turpitude* in them; but being below the *Dignity* of the Soul of Man deſigned for an *angelic* Life, " Na-" ture, ſays he, has taught her to *ſneak*, " when *ſhe being Heaven-born demits her-" ſelf to ſuch earthly Drudgery* *.

IF I was to give any further Account of this matter than I have already done, (replied *Hortenſius*) I ſhould think the Hypotheſis of the very ingenious Mr. *Hutcheſon* the moſt natural: who ſuppoſes that an Opinion of the *Selfiſhneſs* of theſe Indulgences, ariſing from their *confined* Nature, is the Ground of our being aſhamed of them; and that this *firſt introduced Ideas of Modeſty into polite Nations* †: but however they firſt came there, certain it is they deſerve the Incouragement of every Society; nor can the Public be too cautious in keeping up a tender ſenſe of them in the Minds of Men, as a Guard to their Virtue; and in diſcountenancing whatever Diſcourſes, Books, Repreſentations, *&c.* are found to have a contrary Effect. But this, as I before obſerved, upon a merely civil or ſocial Account; the only *juſt* Ground, as I apprehend, of the *Unlawful-*

* Letters Phil. & Mor. between Mr. *Norris* and Dr. *More*, p. 153, 168.

† *Hutch.* Inq. 325. Sect. 5.

neſs even of the *forbidden* Species of Senſuality. It being better upon the whole, that particular Men ſhould be under *ſome* Reſtraint in the Gratification of their natural Appetites, than that much *greater* Miſchiefs ſhould happen to Society, in Conſequence of a general *Licentiouſneſs*. For as to the *diſangelical Nature* of theſe particular Pleaſures, beſides that it muſt hold equally of the moſt *allowed* Inſtances of them, as of the *prohibited* ones, it is with me, I muſt own, of very little weight againſt *any* of them; and that for this plain Reaſon, becauſe *Men* are not *Angels*; and therefore no ſuppoſed Perfections of *their* State of Being can be proper Matter of Example to *us*, who are placed in quite different Circumſtances *. The Caſe is the

* It ſeems a very odd way of depreciating the Pleaſures of the ſixth Senſe, as they are called, to ſay they are *diſangelical:* for is not this as true of thoſe of the other five Senſes? Whatever the learned Doctor may think of the *Food of Angels*, which he ſomewhere ſpeaks of as literally *ſuch*, or *the fragrant Odors of Paradiſe*, (p. 169.) we have the Authority of a reverend Father of the Church to produce againſt him in this Point. Speaking of the Angels, ουδε σιτου δεονται (ſays he) και ποτου, ουδε μελος αυτους ηδυ μαλαξαι δυναιτ' αν, ουδε οψις επικαμψαι λαμπρα, ουδε αλλο των τοιουτων ουδεν. αλλα καθαπερ τον ουρανον εν μεσημβρια σαθερα μηδενος ενοχλουντος νεφους εστιν ιδειν καθαρον, ουτω και τας εκεινων φυσεις, ουδεμιας ενοχλησης επιθυμιας, μενειν αναγκη διαυγεις και λαμπρας. *S. Chryſoſt.* de Virg. Tom.

the ſame in the *moral* World, as it is excellently repreſented by the Poet to be in the *natural*;

On ſuperior Powers
Were we to preſs, inferior might on ours;
Or in the full Creation leave a void,
Where, one Step broken, the great Scale's deſtroy'd.
From Nature's Chain whatever Link you ſtrike,
Tenth, or ten thouſandth, breaks the Chain alike *.

As to thoſe reproachful Epithets with which, as you obſerve, moral Writers affect to ſtigmatize ſenſual Pleaſures, as if the fault lay in the *things themſelves*, and not rather in the *Degree*, or other *Circumſtances* of them: I anſwer with the ingenious Mr. *Norris* in his Theory and Re-

Tom. 4. p. 322. The great Pagan Poet had likewiſe juſter Notions of Immateriality.

Ου γαρ σιτον εδουσ' ου πινουσ' αιθοπα οινον,
Τουνεκ αναιμονες εισι, και αθανατοι καλεονται.

Hom. Il. IV. 341, was his Account of his Heathen Divinities.——So that were we to indeavor after a Life *ſtrictly angelical*, (and if we are required to do ſo in *one* Inſtance, why not in *another?*) we muſt become in very truth like the *Idols* of the *Heathen* (Letters as before) *have Eyes and ſee not, Ears and hear not, Noſes and ſmell not*, Palates and taſte not, *Hands and handle not*——A Scheme of Perfection I am not enough ſpiritualiz'd to envy any Man.

* *Eſſay on Man*, I. 233.

gulation

gulation of Love, that " *herein is their* " *Miſtake.* And if Men will talk con- " fuſedly of things, and aſſign *falſe* Cauſes " for *true* ones, who can help it * ?

I am glad (interpoſed I) you have the Authority of ſo approved a Divine to bear you out in this Notion; otherwiſe was you to communicate your Thoughts to many People I could name, you muſt expect to be charged with the moſt abandoned *Epicuriſm.*

I hope (returned he) I have a better Authority for my Opinion than that of any great Name whatſoever, the Authority of Truth and good Senſe. For to go a little farther into this Subject——Whoever will be at the pains of examining into the Nature and Reaſons of moral Obligation, may, I think, ſoon ſatisfy himſelf, that the *proper Duty* of any moral Agent is nothing elſe but its *proper Happineſs.* The Terms are convertible, and imply each the other. If with this view we conſider Man, as he is in himſelf, a Creature of a *mixed* Conſtitution, made up of a *ſenſible*, a *ſocial*, and a *rational* Principle, 'tis obvious that the *proper* Happineſs or Good of ſuch a Being, or which is the ſame thing, the greateſt *Perfection* of his

* *Theory*, &c. p. 98.

Nature,

Nature, muſt ariſe out of ſome certain Scheme of Action at once ſuited to all the parts of this *compound* Character. Here, *Philemon*, commences the general Reaſon of all human Morality and Religion. It is not, as we are too often taught to think it, a ſet of *arbitrary* Injunctions impoſed upon us at the mere voluntary Appointment of a capricious Superior: but a Rule of Conduct founded in our very *ſelves*, and reſulting out of the Make and Conſtitution of our Nature. Away then with all thoſe viſionary and fantaſtic Refinements which would teach us to build our *Virtue* upon the Ruins of our *Humanity*, and eradicate *one* of the *eſſential Parts* of our Nature to accompliſh the *other*. 'Tis in ſome juſt Balance of our *whole* Conſtitution, not in the Deſtruction of any *Branch* of it, that our main *Perfection*, becauſe our main *Happineſs*, conſiſts. The Gratification of our Senſes and Paſſions, merely *as ſuch*, is no more a Crime, than the Exerciſe of our Reaſon, or the Offices of ſocial Affection *: for each of theſe were alike given us by the great Author of our Faculties, as ſo

* Even the Deſire of public Good may be too ſtrong in ſome heroic Tempers, whilſt the Agent never thinks he can do enough to promote it, but without reflecting upon his paſt Conduct, like the ambitious, goes on

Nil actum reputans, ſi quid ſupereſſet agendum.

Lucan.

many *diſtinct* Principles of Action, ſo many *ſeveral* means of Happineſs; and, *Philemon*,

What compoſes Man, can Man deſtroy?*

It then only becomes *wrong*, when either from an *undue Meaſure*, or *improper Circumſtances*, it breaks the Harmony of our internal Frame; and by too great an Indulgence of *one* of theſe Principles offers violence to *either* of the *other*. We are not, as the incomparable Mr. *Wollaſton* ſpeaks, to "give up the *Man* to humor "the *Brute*, nor to hurt *others* to pleaſe "*ourſelves* †;" but where we can keep clear of ſuch *accidental* Inconveniences, there the Pleaſures of Senſe are as allowable, as they are made neceſſarily grateful to us. They are, like the Trees of Paradiſe, not only *fair* to the Eye, but *good* for Food. For indeed, as Mr. *Norris*, I remember, very juſtly ſtates the Point; "Where "there is no Malice in it either againſt "God, Himſelf, or his Neighbour, I can-"not imagine how it ſhould be at all a "moral Incongruity for a Man to *pleaſe* "*himſelf* ‖.

BUT

* *Eſſay on Man*, II. 164.

† *Rel. of Nat. del.* p. 180.

‖ *Letters Phil. and Mor.* p. 149. Excellent are the Sentiments of the Author before-cited upon this Head. *Temperance*, ſays he, permits us to take Meat and Drink not only as Phyſic for Hunger and Thirſt, but

BUT does not Scripture itſelf (ſaid I) ſeem to authoriſe a different way of Reaſoning

but alſo as an *innocent Cordial* and Fortifier againſt the Evils of Life, or even ſometimes, Reaſon not refuſing that Liberty, *merely* as matter of Pleaſure. *Chaſtity* does not pretend to *extinguiſh* our tender Paſſions, or cancel one part of our Nature, it only bids us not indulge them againſt Reaſon and Truth. *Frugality* indeed looks forward, and round about; but ſtill it forbids no Inſtance of *Generoſity*, or even *Magnificence*, which is agreable to the Man's Station and Circumſtances. *Rel. of Nat. del.* p. 179, 180. as before. Within theſe juſt, and neceſſary Regulations, founded in our very Nature and Conſtitution, we may admit the Pleaſures of the Senſes to be really deſirable, without that falſe Conſequence in *Tully* of wiſhing in voluptate maximâ, nullo intervallo interjecto, dies, noctesque verſari; cum omnes ſenſus dulcedine omni quaſi perfuſi moverentur: for, as the Paſſage goes on, quis eſt dignus nomine hominis, qui unum diem totum velit eſſe in iſto genere voluptatis? *de Fin.* Lib. II. p. 188. ed. Dav. Such a Happineſs as this is the Happineſs of a merely *ſenſible* Being only, not of a *ſocial*, or a *rational* one. How contemptible an Idea does the Pagan poetic Theology give one of the ſupreme *Jupiter*, when it repreſents him, as *Seneca* has it, voluptate concubitus delinitum duplicaſſe noctem! *De Beat. Vit.* 516. It was the want of this Diſtinction that gave riſe to the different Extravagancies of the *Stoics* and *Epicureans*, upon this Article of ſenſible Pleaſure. "Neither ſide conſidered Men, as Men, "but as it were divided human Nature between them. "The latter, forgetting themſelves to be moral A-"gents, regarded only Senſibility; the former, for-"getting themſelves to be ſenſible Beings, regarded "only Morality." *Balguy*'s Tracts, p. 204. A wiſe Man may very well be of that noble Sentiment in *Tully*, ne malum quidem ullum, nec ſi in unum locum conlata omnia ſint, cum turpitudinis malo com-

ſoning upon this Queſtion? does it not frequently charge Immorality upon ſome kinds of ſenſual Pleaſure, as *ſuch*, without any mention of Conſequences? and accordingly ſpeak of them in terms that carry an Imputation of *Baſeneſs* and *Turpitude* in the very *Nature* of the *Acts themſelves*, as if they were not ſo much Offences againſt the *ſocial Intereſts* of Mankind, as againſt the *perſonal Dignity* of human Nature? Thus they are repreſented under the Character of *Luſts which war againſt the Soul* *, of *filthy Luſts* †, *of vile Affections* ‖, and the like. And Fornication is ſtiled the Sin of *Uncleanneſs*, and treated as a *Defilement* of a Man's *ſelf*, rather than as an *Injury* done to his *Neighbour* ‡.

paranda, (*Tuſc. Diſ.* ed. Dav. 132.) without carrying the Point to ſuch an extreme as that, lætetur in perferendo; or thinking there is no Difference between being in Phalaridis Tauro, and in Lectulo. *Ibid.* p. 121. *Plutarch*, with his uſual Good Senſe, has excellently decided this matter, Ἡδονης δε πασης μεν περιεχεσθαι, και παντως, αλογιστον εστι, πασαν δε φευγειν, και παντως, αναισθητον. Con. ſep. Sap. 158.

* Αιτινες στρατευονται κατα της ψυχης. 1 Pet. 2. 11.

† Μολυσμα σαρκος. 2 Cor. 7. 1.

‖ Παθη ατιμιας. Rom. 1. 26.

‡ Παρεδωκεν αυτους ὁ Θεος εις ακαθαρσιαν, τα ατιμαζεσθαι τα σωματα αυτων. Rom. 1. 24.——Πορνεια δε, και πασα ακαθαρσια. Eph. 5. 3.——Φευγετε την πορνειαν. ὁ πορνευων εις το ιδιον σωμα ἁμαρτανει. 1 Cor. 6. 18.

In all Paſſages which look this way, (replied *Hortenſius*) we muſt ſuppoſe the Caſe of *inordinate Affection* * to ſenſual Pleaſure to be taken into the Account; and ſo the fault will lie not in the *Kind* of Indulgence, but in the *Meaſure* of it. For otherwiſe the *ſame kind* of Pleaſure could not be lawful under *any* Circumſtances, and *Marriage* itſelf would be as immoral as *Fornication*, contrary to an expreſs *Precept* of one of the inſpired Writers †. Unleſs it may rather be thought, that the ſacred Writers ſpeak of theſe Matters, as they are known to do of many others, with Accommodation to *popular* Uſage, and common ways of Expreſſion; being more ſollicitous to guard Men againſt the *Breach* of their Duty, than to inſtruct them in the *preciſe Reaſons* of it ‖. And indeed to inforce the

* See *Norris*'s Theory and Reg. p. 99.

† For ſo, I think, that Paſſage in the *Hebrews* ſhould be rendered, τιμιος ὁ γαμος εν πασι, *let Marriage be honorable in all Men*; with Analogy to the preceptive Stile of the whole Chapter. Thus it begins, ἡ φιλαδελφια μενετω. της φιλοξενιας μη επιλανθανεσθε. v. 1, 2. and ſo it goes on throughout. See *Heb.* 13. v. 4.

‖ It muſt be owned there is a very great Authority, that of the able and judicious Mr. *Locke* in his Comment upon the following Words of St. *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 6. 18. ὁ πορνευων εις το ιδιον σωμα ἁμαρτανει, againſt this Opinion. He ſuppoſes the Apoſtle to make uſe here of an Argument againſt Fornication to Chriſtians, taken from their particular Relation to Chriſt, conſider'd in his

the *Practice* of Morality was a buſineſs of much greater moment to them, than nicely to adjuſt the *Theory* of it. This was

his glorified State. His Expoſition is this——" He " who committeth Fornication ſinneth againſt the " end for which his Body was made; namely, to be " a Member of Chriſt, and to be raiſed to the ſame " Power which he has now in Heaven," (*Locke*'s Works, Fol. 2 vol. p. 168.) for ſo he underſtands the fourteenth Verſe, και ὑμας εξεγερει δια της δυναμεως αυτȣ.——But if this be a good Argument to Chriſtians againſt Fornication, it muſt be ſo too againſt Marriage: for the mere Act of *corporal Indulgence* is the ſame in both States, and there is only a Difference in the Circumſtances of it, which is here no part of the Apoſtle's Conſideration. He reaſons upon the Nature of the Act itſelf; but ὁ κολλωμενος τη πορνη ἑν σωμα ες-ιν, is as true of ὁ κολλωμενος τη γυναικι; ſo that in both Caſes it is αιρειν τα μελη τȣ Χρις-ȣ κτλ equally; if this be indeed the true Ground of the Prohibition we are here conſidering. But with all due Deference to ſo judicious an Interpreter in moſt Caſes, I think, he had acted more agreably to that rational Ingenuity he has ſhewn upon other occaſions, if, inſtead of reſting in an Explication which is liable to infinite Difficulties, he had here, as he does elſewhere, frankly owned, " what the meaning of theſe Words is, I " confeſs, I do not underſtand;" (ſee his Note on 1 *Cor.* 11. 10.) For my own part, I am intirely at a loſs to give any ſatisfactory Senſe to this Paſſage. Unleſs it might be allowable to underſtand by *Body*, with the Editor of the New Teſtament in *Greek* and *Engliſh*, the *Body of Chriſtians*, the *Church*, or *myſtical Body of Chriſt*, ſo often mention'd in Scripture; againſt which *Fornication* is in a *peculiar* ſenſe a Crime from its near Connexion with the impure Services of Pagan *Idolatry*; into many of which it had been, as it

was rather the Province of Philoſophy, and improved Reaſoning; and had accordingly given Employment to the ſeveral eminent Maſters of it in different Ages and Countries; but the other was a Point of too great difficulty for any *human Authority* to compaſs; and therefore was the peculiar Aſſignment of thoſe who ſtood inveſted with *divine:* who came not, as they themſelves inform us, with the Arts of Eloquence, the *inticing Words of Man's Wiſdom*, but *with Signs, and Wonders, and divers Miracles, Demonſtrations of the Spirit, and of Power* *. But this is a matter that will fall more immediately under Conſideration in the Sequel of this Argument; for the preſent it may ſuffice to have juſt hinted at it in paſſing, in bar to

it were, incorporated. So ſays *Tertullian*, who introduces Idolatry thus reporting of herſelf, Ego quidem Idololatria ſæpiſſime mœchiæ occaſionem ſubminiſtro; ſciunt luci mei, & mei montes, & vivæ aquæ, ipſaque in urbibus templa, quantum evertendæ pudicitiæ procuremus. *De Pud.* p. 557 It was yet more eminently criminal in this view, when practiſed, as we are informed it too often was, by Chriſtians, in their religious Aſſemblies themſelves, in their Night-Meetings at the Tombs of their Martyrs; inſomuch that an early Council thought fit to injoin, "that Women "ſhould not frequent theſe Cœmeteries by Night; eo quod ſæpe ſub obtentu orationis latenter ſcelera committantur. 35 *Can. Conc. Elib.*——But if this be not admitted, we muſt, I think, have recourſe to popular Accommodation in this Place.

* 1 *Cor.* ch. 2. v. 1. & 4. *Heb.* 2. 4.

ſuch

ſuch Objections as might be ſuppoſed to ariſe from the Quarter of Revelation againſt the main Tenor of theſe Reflections.

To proceed to ſome farther Obſervations that more directly confirm it. We have already conſidered the State and Conſtitution of Nature, as it is an immediate Occaſion of many pleaſing Perceptions to the human Senſe. Nevertheleſs the Pleaſures of the *Senſes* are by no means the *only* ones to which it is ſubſervient; there are others of a more elegant kind, that ariſe out of theſe, and open a ſtill wider field of Entertainment to us; the Pleaſures, I mean, of the *Fancy* or *Imagination*. Under this Head I comprehend thoſe ſeveral delightful Perceptions which ariſe from the Contemplation of either natural, or artificial, or even imaginary and ideal, Objects, conſider'd as *beautiful*, *regular*, *harmonious*. That theſe are ſomething very different from the *ſimple Senſations* of our Sight, or Hearing, is generally, I believe, acknowledged; inſomuch that a celebrated Writer upon the Subject is for conſidering them as a *diſtinct* Claſs of Perceptions; and calling our Power of receiving them an *internal Senſe* *. Thus much is certain, that a Man may enjoy

* *Hutch.* Inq. p. 17.

all

all his ordinary Senſes in great Perfection without any of thoſe tranſporting Pleaſures that gratify a refined Imagination. In *Muſic* we ſeem to admit a Diſtinction of this ſort in our common Language; by ſtiling a Capacity for the Pleaſures of Harmony, a *good Ear*. And yet the Organs of Hearing ſeem to be by no means leſs perfect in People of no Genius for Muſic, than in others of the greateſt and moſt improved Fancy this way. And why a *good Eye* might not ſound full as well of a Judgment in *Painting*, *Statuary*, *Architecture*, or *natural Landſcape*, I can ſee no reaſon but want of Uſe and Cuſtom. Doubtleſs theſe are as diſtinct Ideas from the ſimple Perceptions of *Color*, *Figure*, and *particular Extenſion*, as the others are from the particular Tones of *ſingle Notes*. A Man may be able to diſtinguiſh theſe with great Accuracy, may know all the Varieties of harſher, ſofter, higher, lower, flatter, ſharper, when diſtinctly ſounded to him, and at the ſame time have no Ear for *good Compoſition* in Muſic. In like manner he may know with ſufficient Accuracy the particular Dimenſions of any Body, its Length, Breadth, Height, Baſe, Surface, Angles, Circumference, and yet have no Reliſh of that *general Proportion* which is the Reſult of the *whole*, and charms the Virtuoſo Spectator without any previous

Inquiry. So again in a Piece of Painting he may diſcern all the ſeveral Objects, their diſtinct Figures, their Attitudes, their Colorings, with the different Boundaries and Degrees of Light and Shade; and yet have no Senſe of its *general Beauty*. It is this that ſets the *Man* of *Taſte* in the ſeveral polite Arts ſo much above the *mechanic* Performer. Both of them may have the ſame number of ſeparate Ideas from the ſeveral *Parts* of any Object; and yet the former ſhall have a quite different Perception of the *Whole*, from what the latter has any notion of. As to the Foundation of this Senſe of Beauty, 'tis obſerved, I think, very juſtly by the ingenious Mr. *Hutcheſon* to be "*Uniformity amidſt Va-*"*riety*," or the Contemplation of an Object as at once regular, and diverſified. Whether there be any real Excellency in the particular Forms we call regular to the Eye of a ſupreme Intelligence is not ſo eaſy to determine; tho' was I to declare for either ſide of the Queſtion, I ſhould rather do it for the negative. Thus much however is very certain, that the Conſtitution of Nature is every way as much accommodated to the Entertainment of our *internal Senſe* of Beauty, as it has been ſhewn under a former Article to be to that of our *ordinary Senſes*. The Univerſe, as its very Name imports in the Language of the

the Antients, is a Syſtem of *Beauty*, *Regularity*, and *Order* *. But the Pleaſures of Imagination are of a much wider extent than the real Compaſs of *external* Nature; for having once received the Ideas of *Beauty* and *Proportion* from the ſeveral Objects of immediate Senſe, it finds within itſelf a Power of inlarging, compounding, and altering them at pleaſure to any aſſignable Degree, and of figuring to itſelf new Combinations and Forms of beautiful Objects, to be as ſo many Models of Practice in the different Branches of Art, which not only adminiſter freſh Acceſſions of Delight to the Imagination of the Curious, but alſo contribute much to the better Accommodation, or Imbelliſhment of human Life. And here again, *Philemon*, as if Providence could never enough manifeſt its kind Intentions for our Happineſs, it has not only form'd an intire Univerſe with *reference* to our *Taſte* of Beauty, and put us into a capacity of multiplying the Sources of this Pleaſure to ourſelves by numberleſs artificial Combinations, and Models of our own Invention; but moreover, by a ſtill more complicated Benevo-

* So *Pliny* tells us in his ſecond Book of Natural Hiſtory, chap. 4. Equidem & conſenſu gentium moveor, nam quem κοσμιον Græci, nomine ornamenti, appellaverunt, eum nos, a perfectâ abſolutâque elegantiâ, mundum.

lence, has ſuperadded to the ſeveral Objects of *original Beauty*, neceſſarily *agreable* to us in their own Nature, a power of becoming yet farther *ſo* by after *Deſcription*; and made the *apt Repreſentations* of pleaſing Forms a *diſtinct* Ground of Entertainment from the Pleaſure of the Forms themſelves. 'Tis to this we owe much of the Entertainment of Poetry, Painting, Sculpture, Statuary, and other deſcriptive Arts *.

'Tis very remarkable, (ſaid I) that this *comparative* Beauty from the *Aptneſs* of *Deſcription* is no ſmall Foundation of Pleaſure to the Imagination, even where the Objects deſcribed are rather *diſagreable*, or even *terrible*, in themſelves. Thus particular Deformities either of Perſon, or in natural Objects; the decrepit Figure of Old Age, rude Rocks, Mountains, Precipices, Tempeſts, may by a good Repreſentation be turn'd into very conſiderable Beauties in Painting, however otherwiſe in their Realities. And no one, I believe, ever read *Virgil*'s Deſcription of *Æneas*'s Deſcent to Hell without a very ſenſible Delight, tho' the ſeveral Scenes he was to paſs thro' in his Paſſage thither were conſidered by his *Conductreſs* as ſo full of Horror, that ſhe would not permit him to ingage in the

* *Hutch.* Inq. Sect. 4.

unpa-

unparallel'd Enterprize, 'till ſhe had given him this very ſeaſonable piece of Caution along with him———

Tuque invade viam, vaginâque eripe ferrum;
Nunc animis opus, Ænea, nunc pectore firmo *.

Tho' it muſt at the ſame time be owned, the Pleaſure is ſtill greater, when we attend him to the———

Locos lætos, & amœna vireta
Fortunatorum nemorum, ſedeſque beatas †.

Becauſe there the Objects *themſelves* are no leſs agreable to the Imagination, than the Poet's ſingular Happineſs in repreſenting them. The *Spectator*, I remember, has the ſame Obſervation of our own divine Countryman *Milton*; " that his Deſcrip-
" tions of Hell and of Paradiſe are both,
" perhaps, equally perfect in their kind;
" but in one the Brimſtone and Sulphur
" are leſs refreſhing to the Fancy, than
" the Beds of Flowers, and Wilderneſs of
" Sweets in the other ||.

How inlarged and amiable an Idea (interpoſed *Hortenſius*) does this give us of the beneficent Contrivance of the Author

* *Æneid.* Lib. VI. 260.

† Ibid. 638.

|| Vol. VI. N°. 418. The intire Eſſay on the Pleaſures of the Imagination is well worth peruſing upon this Subject.

of

of our Faculties? that in the Syſtem of the Univerſe he ſhould have obſerved the ſame Rule which we ourſelves do in regard to our own perſonal Syſtem: *having given*, as an inſpired Writer has it, *more abundant Honour to that part which lacked?* inſomuch that even thoſe Objects in Nature, which *we think to be leſs* beautiful, *upon theſe are beſtowed* an adventitious kind of *Beauty*, and its *uncomely Parts* have thus a relative *Comelineſs* *.

BUT is not this after all (obſerved I) as much as can be ſaid, according to your Hypotheſis, of the moſt confeſſedly beautiful Objects in Nature? for you ſeemed unwilling, I remember, to admit of any ſuch thing as *abſolute intrinſic* Beauty; and were for reſolving all into a certain arbitrary Accommodation of things to our particular manner of Conception: ſo that what I have ſometimes heard remarked of a particular Species of Beauty, that of Face, or Perſon, is as true, I perceive, of every other kind of it; and our Men of *Gallantry* are better Philoſophers, than they themſelves are generally aware of, when in defence of ſome ſingular Paſſion they tell us, that "all Beauty is Fancy." But ſurely, *Hortenſius*, this cannot be the Truth of the Caſe; that there ſhould be no ſettled Cri-

* 1 Cor. 12. 23, 24.

terion

terion of *Beauty*, *Order*, *Proportion*, in the Nature of things themſelves, independently of ſome *ſpecial* Appointment. Who can imagine, that a rude Heap of Stones confuſedly thrown together ſhould, to the Eye of any Being, appear equally beautiful with a fine piece of Building, the Proportions of the moſt regular *Architecture?*

THIS is a mere Prejudice of our Imagination, (returned *Hortenſius.*) Can you ſeparate all Thoughts of *Uſe* from the particular Models of Architecture, which you call beautiful? or is not this latter Conception a Conſequence of the former, in ſome ſecret Method of Aſſociation?

BY no means, (ſaid I) as I apprehend. How often do we commend an Object as beautiful, where Uſe is quite out of the queſtion? where there is not any Appearance of this kind to determine our Approbation?

NOR any *Compariſon* (replied he) made with ſome other Object of like Beauty, that is confeſſedly uſeful?

I think not, (ſaid I) at leaſt I have often done ſo, without being aware of any ſuch Compariſon.

PERHAPS

PERHAPS ſo, (returned *Hortenſius.*) But this is not the only Inſtance, in which Compariſons are formed by the Mind without any *immediate* Attention to its own Act in doing ſo. What think you, *Philemon,* of that Propenſity we all naturally have to run to the Aſſiſtance of People in any ſudden and immediate Circumſtance of Danger or Diſtreſs? Could you ſee a Man accidentally falling into the Fire, or down a Precipice, in danger of Drowning, Suffocation, Strangling, or the like, and not *mechanically* indeavor to reſcue him? And yet, perhaps, this piece of neceſſary Compaſſion may be only a more diſguiſed Inſtance of Self-Love grounded upon a *ſudden,* and therefore *unobſerved* Subſtitution of *ourſelves* into his Place and Circumſtances. 'Tis the Quickneſs of the Tranſition in ſuch Caſes that makes us overlook it. And hence probably ſeveral other acquired Propenſities in our Nature either to perform certain Actions, or to reliſh certain Objects, without a *formal Attention* to the preciſe Reaſons of either, have been diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Inſtincts,* whereas in truth they are only *Habits.* Tho' at the ſame time it muſt be acknowledged, that they have all the Uſe and Force of ſo many ſeveral Inſtincts; and therefore the particular Facts that ariſe

ariſe out of them are not affected by any difference in accounting for the *Original* of the things themſelves. May not this explain in ſome meaſure your approving certain Objects as beautiful, where you can ſee no Uſe; namely, from ſome unobſerved Compariſon with *like regular Forms*, which are experienced to have a very manifeſt one? For indeed, *Philemon*, to talk of *abſtract Order* and *Proportion* is to me very unintelligible Language. As far as Order and Proportion are *real Qualities* of Bodies, and not arbitrary *Modifications* of our Senſe, they belong equally to all poſſible Combinations of Matter. For the moſt *deformed irregular Objects* have a certain Order and Relation of their Parts to one another, as well as the moſt beautiful and uniform ones. Let a heap of Stones be thrown together never ſo *confuſedly* as to our Apprehenſion, there will yet, as an ingenious Writer expreſſes it *, "be as real a Proportion in their Sizes "and Diſtances, as if they had been "ranged by the niceſt hand;" and the Reaſon why they appear confuſed to us is not becauſe they want Order and Proportion in *themſelves*, but becauſe they have not that *particular* Order and Diſpoſition of Parts that is accommodated to our par-

* Author of a Pamphlet, intitled, *Divine Benevolence*, in 1731, printed for *J. Noon*, p. 46.

ticular manner of Conception. 'Tis not Order and Proportion as *ſuch* that conſtitutes Beauty; for then all Objects that may be compared as to Situation and Quantity muſt be beautiful; and there could be no ſuch thing as Deformity in the World. We are indeed apt to pronounce of certain diſagreable Objects, that they want Order and Proportion; but the Expreſſion is juſt as improper, as the fore-mention'd Author obſerves, as when we ſay a Body is *ſhapeleſs*, which appears to us *ill-ſhaped* *. If you was to invert the Poſition of the beſt-proportioned Door-Caſe, and make its Perpendicular its Baſe, would it not appear extremely awkard and unnatural? Now what is it that is here changed, but its particular Relation to the human Stature? the ſame Number of Parts, and the ſame Order and Proportion of one of its Dimenſions to the other, ſubſiſts as before; Upright and Parallel are mere Prejudices of our Senſe. The only thing that is really affected by this Alteration is its *Uſe* or *Convenience*; and yet when it loſes this it is no longer beautiful: a Circumſtance that ſeems to make Beauty and Uſefulneſs more nearly allied to each other, than you are willing to allow. And, to ſay the truth, *Philemon*, I am of opinion this way of Reaſoning holds equally good of the ſe-

* *Div. Ben.* p. 47.

veral

veral Forms of Beauty in *Nature*, as in the Combinations of *Art*. The wiſe Architect of the Univerſe has framed every part of it with exquiſite Contrivance to promote the general good of the whole. The Configurations of the heavenly Bodies, their Order, Magnitudes, Diſtances, Revolutions, are all of them accommodated to their reſpective Uſes in the Creation. The Structure of Plants, Trees, Animal Bodies, *&c.* is ſuch as their ſeveral Natures require it ſhould be. Were we let into the whole Secret and Oeconomy of Nature, we ſhould find none of them could be altered but for the worſe. Our *Reaſon*, and our *Intereſt*, from a general View of the Caſe, would approve their *preſent Conſtitution*, tho' we had no *Senſe of Beauty* in any particular Mechaniſm more than another. And yet ſuch is the Abundance of Divine Goodneſs, that not ſatisfied, as it were, to have formed things for the *beſt* in a rational Eſtimate, it has given them a *ſupernumerary* Recommendation to us from a Principle of Beauty; and made the Contemplation of ſuch Forms, Orders, and Diſpoſitions of Bodies, as would moſt approve themſelves to our Reaſon *as uſeful*, an immediate Source of Pleaſure to our Imagination *as beautiful*. For this I take to be the real State of the Caſe; and it is an effectual Anſwer to thoſe who

tell us, that upon Suppoſition there is no *intrinſic Beauty* in the Nature of Things themſelves, but all is matter of arbitrary Appointment, the Profuſion of *Art* and *Skill* obſervable in the Mechaniſm of the Univerſe is a mere *Waſte of Workmanſhip*; and a *Chaos* would have anſwered the Creator's Purpoſe as well as a *regular Syſtem* *: a Notion that can never be maintained, 'till it can be proved that *all Conſtitutions* of Things are as indifferent in reſpect of their *Uſes* and *Applications*, as I have been indeavoring to ſhew they are, in reſpect of the particular Conſideration of their *Beauty*.

But will not this way of Reaſoning, (ſaid I) *Hortenſius*, lead us to ſome very odd Concluſions? particularly, if there be no *Reality* in *Beauty*, and nothing can appear to the divine Mind otherwiſe than it *really* is in itſelf, will not this ſeem to caſt a ſhade upon the univerſal Syſtem in the Eye of its own Maker? Shall then the lovely Face of Nature, ſo liberal of its Charms to the human Senſe, appear notwithſtanding to its Author, the only *unerring Judge* of it, without *Form* or *Comelineſs* †? A ſhocking Reflexion this on that *Divine Geometrician*, as an ancient

* Divine Rectitude, by Mr. *Balgy*, p. 16.

† Iſaiah 53. 2.

Author

Author calls him, who has ever been conſidered by the wiſe and thoughtful of all Ages, as eſtabliſhing the Univerſe in *Number, Weight, and Meaſure*; and who tells us of himſelf, by a more authentic Declaration, that upon a deliberate Review of the Works of his Hands, newly gone out of them, he found reaſon to pronounce of every thing he had made, *that it was very good* *. And indeed I have always been uſed to conceive of the Beauty, Order, and Regularity of external Nature, as the Production of thoſe perfect Models of Beauty, Proportion, and Symmetry into actual Exiſtence, which before ſubſiſted in the divine Ideas from all Eternity. But you, it ſeems, will neither allow them to ſubſiſt there, nor any where elſe, but in the *deluded* Apprehenſions of weak Mortals.

MAY I ever be thus agreably deceived, (reſumed *Hortenſius!*) and with Gratitude, inſtead of repining, ſubmit to a Deluſion of ſo great Conſequence to my Happineſs! For what is Happineſs, *Philemon*, but Idea? and if imbracing a *Cloud* can give me *equal Satisfaction*, need I complain of its being *ſubſtituted* in the room of the *Queen of Heaven?* But to come more directly to the Point: You are concerned,

* Geneſis 1. 31.

it

it ſeems, that the Works of the Deity ſhould appear to him without that *particular Relation* we call *Beauty*. But do they not likewiſe appear to him without the *relation* of *Deformity?* and does not that in ſome meaſure ſatisfy you? Should I tell any of the Vulgar, that there is no ſuch thing as *Color* to the divine Apprehenſion, would not their Prejudices ariſe ſtrong againſt the Truth of this Aſſertion? and yet you and I are perſuaded of this, and think it no Diminution of the *divine* Happineſs, however the contrary may be an Improvement of our *own*. Do but conſider Beauty, as you are uſed to do Color, *Philemon*, and you will be as little concerned to defend the Reality of one, with regard to the Deity, as you are of the other *.

BUT not to urge you with leſs important Objections, (replied I) *Hortenſius*, I have one which ſtrikes deep at your main Principle, taken from Fact; namely, that the Conſtitution of Things is itſelf *ſuch* as plainly ſpeaks the Deity to have had a regard to the greater Order and Harmony of the World, as a *diſtinct* End from the Happineſs of its Inhabitants. What elſe, as a very ingenious Writer upon this Subject reaſons, means that Scale and Subor-

* *Div. Ben.* p. 45.

dination

dination of Beings eſtabliſhed in the Univerſe, " aſcending from inanimate and " ſtupid Matter to Human-Kind, and " reaching beyond it higher and farther " than our Faculties are able to follow " them *?" A more nearly *equal* State of their Powers and Perfections would have been more conducive to their common Happineſs, but would at the ſame time have deſtroyed that Order and Regularity which prevails in the preſent Syſtem; an End too *ſacred* for the Deity to break in upon for any other Conſiderations †! Had Happineſs been the only Deſign of the Creator, whence that mighty *Difference* to be obſerved in the Capacities and Injoyments of the ſeveral Ranks of ſenſitive Beings? why were they not all placed in the *higheſt* Degree of Perfection? why not all *intelligent?* why not indued with the Powers and Faculties of *Angels?* but the eternal Laws of Order and Proportion forbid ſuch an *unvaried* Diſpoſition of Things ‖.

THIS (returned *Hortenſius*) would be an inſuperable Difficulty indeed, were it but built upon any ſolid Foundation in point of Fact: but what if the quite

* *Div. Rect.* p. 13.
† *Div. Rect.* p. 22.
‖ *Div. Rect.* p. 15, 22, 23.

contrary be true? What if the *ſame* Conſtitution and Oeconomy of things that makes them thus *beautiful* and *regular* to our Imagination, be at the ſame time calculated to ſerve the Purpoſes of the greateſt poſſible *Happineſs* upon the whole? How do you know but the higheſt Order of intelligent and happy Beings may in the preſent Syſtem be as *full*, as the Nature and Circumſtances of *ſuch* Beings can admit of? Would you then have no *inferior* Degrees of Happineſs communicated to other Claſſes of Beings, becauſe a *farther* Communication of that which is moſt perfect is altogether impracticable? Surely this would be to break in as much upon the Happineſs of the Univerſe, as it can be ſuppoſed to be upon its Order and Regularity. Seriouſly, *Philemon*, I am ſo far from thinking the Scale of Beings you mention an *Objection* to the Creator's Goodneſs, that to me it appears to be the nobleſt Diſplay and Confirmation of it; inaſmuch as it ſeems probable the *Sum total* of Happineſs is much greater in this Conſtitution of things, than it could have been in any other *: eſpecially if this *very* Circumſtance

* This Notion is well explained and defended by the learned and thoughtful Archbiſhop *King*, in his Treatiſe of the Origin of Evil; and his Reaſonings upon this Subject have been ſtill farther inforced by his very ingenious *Tranſlator*; who in this, as, I think, in

ſtance of a regular Subordination in the Univerſe, at the ſame time that in the nature of the thing itſelf it is productive of more general Happineſs, be likewiſe calculated to give Pleaſure in its Contemplation from a *Senſe of Beauty* to *other* parts of the rational Creation, as we experience it to do to *ourſelves* in *particular*; a Notion which I do not think improbable: however, it muſt be owned, the Conſtitution of our Senſe of Beauty may ſeem to have been in many reſpects more *peculiarly* accommodated to

in many other Inſtances, has greatly improved upon an excellent Original. See Chap. 3, 4, 5. Subſect. 5. with the Notes; from which I will take the liberty of tranſcribing the following Paſſage—— "From the "foregoing Obſervation, that there is no manner of "*Chaſm* or *Void*, no Link *deficient* in this great Chain "of Beings, and the reaſon of it, it will appear ex- "tremely probable alſo, that every diſtinct Order, "every Claſs, or Species of them, is as *full* as the "Nature of it would admit, and God ſaw proper. "There are perhaps *ſo many* in each Claſs as could "exiſt *together* without ſome *Inconvenience* or *Uneaſi-* "*neſs* to each other. This is eaſily conceivable in "Mankind, and may be in ſuperior Beings; tho' for "want of an exact Knowledge of their ſeveral Na- "tures and Orders, we cannot apprehend the man- "ner of it, or conceive how they affect one another; "only this we are ſure of, that neither the Species, "nor the Individuals in each Species, can poſſibly be "infinite; and that nothing but an *Impoſſibility* in "the nature of the thing, or ſome greater *Inconve-* "*nience*, can reſtrain the Exerciſe of the Power of "God; or hinder him from producing ſtill *more* and "*more* Beings capable of Felicity." *Law*'s Tranſlat. p. 95. Note 35. at the end.

Creatures of our *particular* Make and Circumſtances. Thus the Manner of knowing by *general Theorems*, and of operating by *general Principles*, or *Cauſes*, as 'tis well obſerved by Mr. *Hutcheſon*, as far as we can attain it, muſt be moſt ſuitable to Beings of limited Underſtanding, and Powers of Action; the one preventing Diſtraction to their Minds by a Multiplicity of particular Propoſitions, and the other Toil and Wearineſs to their active Faculties from a Variety of ſeparate Applications *. Now 'tis obvious that our Senſe of *Beauty* coincides intirely with what a rational Conviction of *Intereſt* would recommend to our Choice in both theſe Inſtances. Again, the Comprehenſion of regular and uniform Objects is much *eaſier* than of irregular ones; inaſmuch as here a Knowledge of one or two parts leads us into that of the whole; whereas the Ideas of confuſed Heaps, and diſuniform Combinations are neither aſcertained to the Imagination, nor retained in the Memory, without conſiderable *Difficulty* †. And yet here likewiſe a Senſe of *Beauty* comes in, and determines us in favour of Uniformity, Regularity, and Order in the Diſpoſition

* *Hutch.* Inq. p. 98.
† *Hutch.* p. 99.

of

of Objects previouſly to all Reaſons of Convenience *.

It may be obſerved here, that however it muſt be acknowledged that none of theſe Reaſons have any Force as to the ſupreme Being *himſelf*, ſince all ways of knowing are

* The Meaning here is, that from an actual Experience of the Benefits of Order, Uniformity, Regularity, in many particular Inſtances, we are led to place a kind of Value in regular Objects *as ſuch*, in the way of Habit and Aſſociation. For that this is the very truth of the Caſe in *natural* Objects we may reaſonably conclude from the Analogy of *artificial* ones; in which it is very evident that *Beauty* is nothing elſe but experienced *Uſefulneſs*. Many of the *Ornaments* in the different Orders of Architecture were at firſt only very ſimple Contrivances for the convenient Adjuſtment of Beams, Rafters, Props, and other neceſſary Materials in building; as may be ſeen in *Vitruvius*, and other Writers of Architecture: by degrees *Uſe* came to be converted into *Beauty*; and indeed the latter ſeems now wholly to ingroſs the Paſſion of the *Virtuoſi*, as it were for its own ſake. Thus the *Corona* or *Corniſh* particularly was at firſt only an Invention to keep off Wet from the Sides of Walls, or Bodies of Pillars; and yet we ſee it is now eſtabliſh'd into an *Ornament:* ſed *projectura Coronarum* rejiciet extra perpendiculum ſtillas, & ea ratione ſervaverit integras lateritiorum parietum ſtructuras. *Vitruvii* de Architecturâ Lib. 2. Cap. 8.——So again the Proportions between the Baſes of Pillars and their Heights were at firſt adjuſted from that of the Foot to the intire Stature in the human Body. Cum voluiſſent columnas collocare (ſays *Vitruvius*) ſpeaking of the firſt Inſtitution of the *Doric* Pillar, non habentes ſymmetrias earum, & quærentes quibus rationibus efficere poſſent, uti & ad *onus ferendum* eſſent idoneæ, & in

are equally *eaſy* to an infinite Comprehenſion, and all ways of acting to infinite Power; nevertheleſs, he having determined for the Reaſons already mentioned to conſtitute our Senſe of Beauty *ſuch* as in fact it is, an *Accommodation* of external Nature to it is what might reaſonably be expected from

aſpectu *probatam* haberent *venuſtatem* (a manifeſt Conſequence *this* of the *other*) dimenſi ſunt virilis pedis veſtigium, & cum inveniſſent pedem ſextam partem eſſe altitudinis in homine, ita in columnam tranſtulerunt.——The Proportions of the *Ionic* and *Corinthian* Pillar were adjuſted much upon the ſame Principle. *Vitruv.* Lib. 4. Cap. 1. *de Gen. Columnarum.*——And in another Place he tells us, that all Proportion in Building is relative to that of the human Figure. Non poteſt ædes ulla ſine ſymmetriâ atque proportione rationem habere compoſitionis, niſi uti ad hominis bene figurati membrorum habuerit exactam rationem. Lib 3. Cap. 1. And indeed that the Ancients were wholly governed by the Views of the greateſt Uſe or Conveniency, when they, omnia certâ proprietate, & à veris naturæ deductis moribus, traduxerunt in operum perfectiones, (*Vitruv.* Lib. 4. Cap. 2.) appears from hence, that later Architects have in vain attempted to refine upon their Models, or to introduce any *new Orders* of Building. The late *French* King, we know, was very deſirous to have had the Reputation of bringing ſome *new Order* into uſe; but it was found impracticable without manifeſt Inconvenience.——I may here juſt note by the way, that what has been ſaid of *natural* Beauty, that it is all *relative* to ſome Uſe, is as true of *moral*, or the Beauty of *Actions*. Some *Scheme* of Action there is which anſwers *all* the Purpoſes of *ſuch* a Creature as Man; which accompliſhes *every* Point he can be ſuppoſed to aim at. This is what is called *moral Virtue*, and it is the *Duty* of every Man, becauſe it is his true *Intereſt* upon the whole, to act

from his Goodneſs *. Accordingly we find the Univerſe has been a perpetual Source of Delight and Entertainment to the Imaginations of the Curious in all Ages.

act in Conformity to this Rule of Life and Conduct, eſtabliſhed in the neceſſary Relations and Habitudes of things. The Senſe of *Beauty* in *Actions* is nothing elſe but their *apprehended Subſerviency* to this great End; which, according as it is *juſt* or *otherwiſe*, conſtitutes (as the Senſe of external Beauty does likewiſe in natural Objects) a *true* or a *falſe Taſte* of Life. This accounts for the many *otherwiſe unaccountable Perverſions* both of the *internal* and *moral* Senſe obſervable in Fact and Experience; as it likewiſe points out the true Remedy for them, namely to conſider impartially the real Nature and Conſequences of Things, to inlarge the View of the Mind, to take in many more Particulars into the Account, and by that means correct the *vicious* Reliſh or *Gothic* Taſte. Thoſe who cannot give up the favorite Terms of *abſtract Beauty*, and *abſtract Fitneſs*, may poſſibly have leſs Prejudice to this way of thinking, when they are pleaſed to obſerve, that what they call *beautiful*, or *fit*, and the like, that I only deſire leave to call *uſeful*, or *convenient*; we mean the very ſame things, and differ only in Expreſſion: a Circumſtance I chuſe to mention, in regard to the many excellent Writers who have ſeemed to oppoſe the *intereſted* Scheme of Morality. I have as great a Contempt for what is *commonly* underſtood by *Selfiſhneſs*, as they can poſſibly have; and I am leſs inclined to differ from them, becauſe, I take it, it is the *Exceſs* of their *Generoſity* alone that, to my Apprehenſion, miſleads them; this having been the Error, if ſuch it is, of ſome of the moſt valuable Perſons in the World of Letters; as no one can doubt, who conſiders that Dr. *Clarke*, Mr. *Wollaſton*, Mr. *Hutcheſon*, Mr. *Balguy*, and others of great Merit have declared for this Opinion.

* See *Hutch.* Inq. p. 102.

That

That admirably *ſimple* kind of Mechaniſm, by which are brought about ſome of the moſt conſiderable Effects in Nature is exquiſitely adapted to our Taſte of Beauty in *Uniformity amidſt Variety*. Such are the Principles of Gravitation, of Heat, of Elaſticity; the ſeveral Operations of which, beſides their numberleſs good Uſes in the Creation, have moreover a *peculiar* relation of Accommodation to the human Mind, from their obſerved *Agreement* in one general Cauſe of their Production. The obvious Face of the World, *Philemon*, is beautiful and regular; the Forms of the heavenly Bodies, their Diſpoſition in an imaginary concave Sphere, their Periods, and Revolutions in equal Times; the Returns of Day and Night, Seed-time and Harveſt, Summer and Winter; the Arrangements of natural Objects; the gradual Riſing of Hills, their extended Ranges with regularly interſperſed Valleys; the beautiful Level and poliſhed Surface of Rivers; the uniform Majeſty of the Ocean; the ſimilar Structure and Configuration of the parts of Flowers, Plants, Trees, and above all of animal Bodies, are Inſtances of a *governing Order* in Nature equally notorious and agreable. But this beautiful Simplicity, Regularity, and Order in the Conſtitution of things is not intended merely to indulge us in the *lazy* Pleaſure of Contemplation,

templation, but to ſuggeſt to us many uſeful Principles of Action and Imployment. The ſeveral kinds of natural Forces abovementioned by a dexterous Application are made ſubſervient to various good Purpoſes in the Accommodation of Life *. To them we are indebted for the Coheſion of the ſeveral Parts of artificial Compoſitions of Bodies; for the Theory and Application of the mechanic Powers; for many uſeful Operations in Chymiſtry, Phyſic, Surgery; the ſeveral Engines imployed in the raiſing, projecting, or drawing off Water and other Fluids; the Invention of Clock-work, and the different Uſes of Springs; with ſeveral other Particulars too numerous to be here

* It is to be obſerved here, as I find it well repreſented by Mr. *Campbell*, that we do not in ſuch Applications create to ourſelves any new Powers or Faculties, which we had not before from the Author of our Being; nor do we furniſh external Objects with other Qualities, than what they have from the firſt Cauſe of all things. And where is the Crime of my collecting and diſpoſing particular things together, ſo as to gratify my Mind with greater Variety of pleaſing Perceptions than can be had in common thro' the World? All theſe things are fitted and appointed by the Author of Nature to entertain me with ſuch Gratifications: and, I hope, there is no Guilt in exerting my natural Powers, and making uſe of my own Labour, Skill, and Induſtry, in procuring for myſelf thoſe Pleaſures which I have a natural Taſte to injoy; or in applying things to thoſe Purpoſes, to which, not ſinful Man, but the Deity himſelf has ſo well adapted them. ΑΡΕΤΗ-ΛΟΓΙΑ, p. 111, 112.

diſtinctly

diſtinctly inſiſted on *. Our Taſte of Beauty in the Order and Regularity of natural Objects is the Foundation of all that Pleaſure we receive from the more *elegant* Devices of Art; ſuch as *Architecture*, *Muſic*, *Gardening*, *Painting*, *Statuary*; to which we may add likewiſe the Pleaſures of *Dreſs*, *Equipage*, *Attendants*, *Furniture*. Without ſome or other of which Purſuits, Life would want many of thoſe Conveniences, and moſt of thoſe Amuſements, for which alone it is chiefly valuable, in the Opinion of ſuch as would be eſteemed to have the trueſt Reliſh of it. Strike off the artificial Improvements of Life, and you leave little or no Advantage in a great Fortune above a very ſmall one. The Beauties of Nature lie open to all in common: the ſubſtantial part of all ſenſual Gratifications is attainable by a very moderate ſhare of Wealth and Power: nay, even Scarcity often recommends theſe things to us much more than Abundance. Would we *refine* upon the common Satisfactions of Life, and ſtrike out into a

* The Appointment of general Principles in Nature is farther uſeful in a *higher*, a *moral* Account. For were there no general Laws eſtabliſhed, "there "could be no Prudence or Deſign in Men, no ra- "tional Expectation of Effects from Cauſes, no "Schemes of Action projected, nor any regular "Execution." *Hutch.* Inq. p. 103.

more

more *varied* Scene of Injoyments than lie within the Reach of the Vulgar, we muſt call in the Improvements of *Fancy*, as what alone can compaſs this Point for us. Accordingly, if we look abroad into the World, and reflect a little what it is that ſo attracts our Eyes and our Envy in the higher Stations of Life, ſhall we not find it to be only the ſuperior Capacity they give to People of more diſtinguiſh'd Rank for injoying the ſeveral Pleaſures of *Decency*, *Regularity*, *Beauty*? Why elſe is the Pride and Magnificence of a *Palace* preferred to the Humility of a plain and cleanly *Cottage*? a Piece of *Painting* to an ordinary *Sign-Poſt*? a Suit of *Embroidery* to a Covering of *Frize*? a Service of *Plate* to a Set of *earthen Diſhes*? a numerous *Attendance* to a *Table*, or a *Dumb-Waiter*? a *Concert* of *Muſic* to a Company of *ruſtic Scrapers*? an *Opera* to a *Village-Wake*? If you ſay that Conſiderations of *Property* determine our Choice here, I anſwer, Property *alone* cannot do it; for then a *Miſer* would be thought equally happy with a Man of the moſt *accompliſhed Taſte*. It muſt be Property *applyed* to ſomething we eſteem *Happineſs*. Even the *Miſer himſelf*, tho' at preſent by a ſtrange Infatuation in the Paſſion of Avarice his Thoughts look no farther than Poſſeſſion, commenced ſuch probably at firſt from a

Proſpect of Happineſs. 'Twas the Apprehenſion of *Want*, that is, of not having the *Means* of *injoying* Life in his power, that ingaged him in this *ſaving* Regimen: unleſs we may ſuppoſe that even *yet* he has an eye to the *making a Family*, as 'tis call'd; that is, laying a Foundation for *others* to taſte thoſe *very* Pleaſures of *Order*, *Regularity*, *Beauty*, from which the Wretch himſelf is eternally precluded from a cheriſhed Horror of Expence *.

WHETHER this be any part of his Intention or not I cannot tell, (interpoſed I) but it certainly often ſucceeds ſo in Fact. Profuſion in the ſubſequent Generation is generally a ſort of Retribution to the Public for the Miſchiefs of Avarice in the precedent one. I remember Mr. *Pope* in his Epiſtle to my Lord *Bathurſt* has given this Thought a very beautiful Dreſs in the following Lines——

Riches, like Inſects, when conceal'd they lie,
Wait but for Wings, and, in their Seaſon, fly:
Who ſees pale Mammon pine amidſt his Store,
Sees but a backward Steward for the Poor;

* See this Subject well treated in *Hutch.* Inq. Sect. 8. p. 93, &c.

This

This Year a Reſervoir, to keep, and ſpare;
The next, a Fountain ſpouting thro' his Heir.*

But after all, (continued I) *Hortenſius*, if Self-Denial be ſo neceſſary a Token of Virtue as 'tis ſometimes repreſented, who knows but the *Miſer*, as deteſtable a part as he is generally eſteemed to act, may yet have a ſort of Claim to the Character of the moſt *conſummate* Virtue? a ſtrange Paradox this! But yet it is certain he practiſes as high a Degree of Abſtinence from all the Comforts of Life, as the moſt mortified *Aſcetic* can pretend to. He ſacrifices his *all*, *Hortenſius*, and can the other boaſt of doing more? nay, in one reſpect, he is even the *greateſt Rigoriſt* of the two; for he ſacrifices at leaſt *one* Pleaſure more than the *Aſcetic* himſelf does; the Pleaſure, I mean, of *Liberality*.

As far as *Intention* is concerned (ſaid *Hortenſius*) I am of opinion he may do ſo. Nevertheleſs, *Philemon*, the *Conſequences* both of the *Miſer*, and the *Aſcetic-Paſſion*, are nearly the ſame; both theſe ſorts of People may be ſaid *to leave their Wealth to others* †, and give up their own Right in their Poſſeſſions, that ſomebody elſe may be the better for them. How different are

* Epiſt. of the Uſe of Riches, l. 170.
† Pſalm 49. 10.

the Cauſes that may thus bring about the ſame Effects? No one is apt to ſuſpect a *Miſer* of Liberality, or an *Aſcetic* of Covetouſneſs; and yet they both act the very ſame part in Life, tho' upon quite contrary Principles; they both *deny themſelves* in the very ſame Inſtances. To ſuffer Want thro' the Fear of Want, which is the Caſe of the former, is, it may be, the more *flagrant* Abſurdity; but to imbrace it voluntarily, and for its own ſake, as does the latter, is ſurely no *inconſiderable* one; eſpecially in a Conſtitution of things, as has been ſhewn, no ways favourable to ſuch an auſtere Sentiment of religious Perfection.

BUT would you carry this Notion ſo far, (ſaid I) *Hortenſius*, as abſolutely to condemn the forward Zeal of thoſe mortified Pietiſts, who taking the evangelical Precept of *ſelling all we have, and giving to the Poor* *, in a ſtrictly literal Senſe, imbrace the Severities of voluntary Poverty, as if it was as formally impoſſible, as it is ſomewhere by a ſtrong proverbial Expreſſion in Scripture declared to be extremely difficult, in certain Circumſtances, for *a rich Man to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven* †?

* *Mat.* 19. 21. compare with *Mark* 10. 21.
† See as before.

INDEED,

INDEED, (ſaid he) *Philemon*, I would. There cannot be a greater Injury to the Honour of the ſacred Writings than to ſuppoſe them capable of an Interpretation, in any particular Paſſage, ſo repugnant to *Common Senſe*, no leſs than to the *general Tenor* of thoſe very Writings themſelves.

BUT may not this, and other like Places of Scripture (I interrupted) be underſtood as certain *Counſels* of *eminent Perfection* to *ſome* People, no ways obligatory as matter of *ſtrict Duty* upon *all?* I think I have ſomewhere met with this Diſtinction in religious Writers.

POSSIBLY you may, (replied he) but 'tis a Diſtinction without the leaſt Foundation of Reaſon to ſupport it. Whatever the Scriptures propoſe as a Counſel of real *Perfection*, muſt, to all who believe them, be matter of ſtrict *Duty*; for all Chriſtians are bound to become as *perfect* as they can. Admitting then that *voluntary Poverty* is any part of Chriſtian *Perfection*, there will be a real Obligation upon all Chriſtians to ſubmit to it *. And thus muſt

* The learned *Barbeyrac* obſerves well upon this point, Chrétiens, comme tels, ne pourront qu' aſpirer à une telle perfection. Ils le devront meme, contre ce que

muſt the whole Chriſtian World be reduced to a *level*, all obliged to a State of *Beggary*; and the ſeveral Diſtinctions of Civil Society, with the relative Duties ariſing out of them, muſt intirely vaniſh wherever the Goſpel is once introduced. A ſtrange Repreſentation of things, *Philemon*, and moſt unworthy the ſuppoſed Author of Revelation! And yet unleſs this be allowed, I ſee not how it can be any Merit in People to whom Providence has allotted the Diſtinctions of Birth and Fortune to quit their *proper Poſt* and *Duties*, and *beggar themſelves*, in order to adminiſter to, what upon their own way of Reaſoning they muſt needs think, the *ſuperfluous Indulgences* of *other* People. I remember to have read of a very rigid Pietiſt, the celebrated *Mademoiſelle Bourignon*, who upon this very Principle, tho' ſhe made little uſe of her Wealth in her own Perſon, would never be prevailed upon to diſtribute it in Charity to any body elſe. She could find no *fit Objects* upon whom to beſtow her Liberality; none who would not make an ill uſe of it in adminiſtring to their *Idleneſs*, or their *Vices*; " nullos adhuc inveni

que l'on ſuppoſe. car toutes les exhortations des Ecrivains ſacrez tendent à impoſer l'obligation indiſpenſable de ſe perfectioner, & de ſe rendre chacun de plus en plus agréable à Dieu. *Traité de la Morale des Peres, chap.* 8 *ſect.* 15.

" vere

" vere pauperes," was her conſtant Reply to all Requeſts of this nature *. Tho' the Principle ſhe went upon, as indeed moſt of her other Principles, was extremely *wrong*, yet ſhe certainly reaſoned *right* in *conſequence* of it. For what it becomes me to renounce *myſelf*, I can have no Authority to transfer to *other People*. And yet certainly, *Philemon*, this is not the Meaning of the Apoſtle, where he exhorts, *that to do good, and to communicate, we ſhould forget not* †: nor in another of his Epiſtles, where he charges *them that are rich in this World, that they do good; that they be rich in good Works; ready to diſtribute* ‖.——— So different is the Morality of the Goſpel from the Refinements of fanciful Enthuſiaſts.

But to go a little farther into this Point. Admitting that the only lawful Uſe of Riches is, as our Apoſtle ſpeaks, to *do good, to be rich in good Works*, I ſuppoſe it can be no Diminution of any Act of Be-

* Vellem ut occaſionem haberem bona mea ad gloriam Dei impendendi; tunc ne uno quidem die retinerem; ſed nullam hucuſque inveni: multi ſunt qui ea acciperent, ſed non impenderent ad gloriam Dei, ut ego facere deſtino. *ap. Seckend. Apolog. Relatio.* p. 78, 79. See *Bayle's* Dict. Vol. 1. under the Article *Bourignon*, Remark M.

† Heb. 13. 16.

‖ 1 Tim. 6. 17, 18.

neficence,

neficence, that it is contrived ſo as to be at once a Benefit to the *Author*, no leſs than to the *Object* of it. If at the ſame time that I am ſupplying the Wants of *others*, I can ſo order the Matter as to anſwer many good Purpoſes to *myſelf* in the way of private and perſonal Accommodation, is the Charity of ſuch a Procedure at all leſſened by its thus turning to a *double* Account? Surely, *Philemon*, there can be no Pretence to think ſo. Now 'tis in this View that I would look upon Men of Rank and Fortune in Life, as Inſtruments in the hands of a kind and good Providence to adminiſter to the Neceſſities and Occaſions of thoſe who move in a lower Sphere, from the united Principles of *Generoſity* and private *Intereſt*. Their perſonal Recreations and Amuſements, the Expences of their Station and Circumſtances in the World, their very Luxuries, and moſt elegant Superfluities, (if you will needs call every thing by that Name, that is not immediately neceſſary to our very Being) tho' they are far from what a celebrated Author calls them, *private Vices*, as *ſuch*, do anſwer however to the other part of his Deſcription of them, and both are, and ought to be imployed as, *public Benefits* *. They

* *Fable of the Bees, or private Vices public Benefits.* This falſe Notion of confounding Superfluities and Vices,

They are the proper Incouragements of *honeſt Induſtry*; a kind of Tax upon the Liberality of thoſe who are exempted by their ſuperior Situation in Society from the Drudgeries of its more ſervile Offices. They find Work and Maintenance for the labouring Poor, ſo neceſſary in all Communities; are the Support of many uſeful Trades and Imployments in the middle Stations of Life; the Foundation of a more extended Commerce both at home, and with foreign Nations; of that general Circulation of Property, by which, in the wiſe Appointment of things, the Abundance of a *few* is made ſubſervient to the Exigencies of the *many*. Where this View takes place, ſuch a *generous Oeconomy* of our Pleaſures *ſanctifies*, as it were, the very *Nature* of them: it adds a *Merit* to Expence, converts *Ornament* into *Uſe*, and *Elegance* into *Charity*. For my part, *Philemon*, I know not a more enviable Character than that of a truly great Man who, by a Generoſity of thinking anſwerable to his ſuperior Capacity of doing good, imploys his Fortune to all the Purpoſes of a *magnificent Liberality*; like a good Angel, a kind of guardian Deity, to his Fellow-Creatures, diffuſing Happineſs far and wide

Vices, is what runs thro' that whole Piece; otherwiſe, (as all that Author's Pieces are) very ingeniouſly written.

thro' a numerous Circle of grateful Dependents; whilſt, at the ſame time, by a wonderful Proviſion in Nature to reward ſo ſerviceable a Benevolence, the very *Objects* of his *Bounty*, are the *Inſtruments* of his moſt *valuable Gratifications*. There is nothing, *Philemon*, I have obſerved to be more generally miſtaken in a religious Account than the Notion of Charity: many People ſeem to conſider *Alms* as what alone deſerves that Name. As if it was not a greater, a more godlike Benevolence, to put the ſame Perſons *above* the hard Neceſſity of aſking our Alms, than it is to relieve them upon their actual Application for them *. To be touched with the *immediate* Symptoms of Wretchedneſs is no very high Degree of Excellency: he is a Scandal to his Kind who is not ſo. But to concert *calmly* and *ſedately* the moſt effectual

* The humane Moraliſt *Seneca* was of a very different opinion——Optimum eſt, ſays he, antecedere deſiderium cujuſque: proximum ſequi. illud melius, occupare antequam rogemur: quia cum homini probo ad rogandum os concurrat, & ſuffundatur rubor, qui hoc tormentum remittit, multiplicat munus ſuum. Non tulit gratis, qui cum rogaſſet, accepit. *De Ben. lib.* 2. *cap.* 1. And again, *cap.* 2. Moleſtum verbum eſt, oneroſum, & demiſſo vultu dicendum, rogo. Hujus facienda eſt gratia amico, & cuicunque, quem amicum ſis promerendo facturus. ſero beneficium dedit, qui roganti dedit.——It may perhaps be, that that very circumſtance is the *chief Recommendation* of this kind of Charity, which with many People is made an *Objection*

effectual Meaſures of doing good, as it were, before it is even ſought for, to cheriſh the fair Idea in our Minds, and by friendly *Precautions* of Benevolence to hinder, as far as may be, the very *Entrance* of Miſery into the World, this is indeed a truly heroic Inſtance of Virtue. And yet this is the very part which every Man of Diſtinction and Affluence is called upon to act, if he does but rationally conſult his own greateſt Entertainment and Happineſs. Such is the *Morality* even of *Pleaſure*, *Philemon*, in a true Eſtimate of things! ſo wonderfully are *Virtue* and *Self-Gratification* complicated together! I might add here, what has been already obſerved more at large, that the very Purſuit of Pleaſure itſelf in the Inſtances now ſuggeſted, in the ſeveral Objects of *Decency*, *Beauty*, and *Order*, is not

jection to it, " that it does not appear to be ſuch." It puts People upon acquiring *for themſelves* a comfortable or convenient Subſiſtence, which, becauſe it is the Reſult of their own Labour and Induſtry, they conſider as *a Reward not of Grace, but of Debt.* (Rom. 4. 4.) A very conſiderable Inhancement this of the Value of it! To be the Authors of our own Happineſs, being a much greater Pleaſure to us, than to receive the ſame Proportion of Good at the arbitrary Will of another.——We may add, that this is therefore the *trueſt kind* of Goodneſs, becauſe it is indeed the Method of the *Deity himſelf* to all his Creatures. He gives them the *Capacities* of Happineſs and of Virtue, and leaves the *actual Acquiſition* of *both* in a great meaſure to *themſelves*, that they may ſet the greater Value upon them.

only convertible in the Method already propoſed into an *actual Exerciſe* of Virtue, but moreover has a natural Tendency to carry us on to ſtill *higher Degrees* of it: it being ſcarce poſſible but that to a conſiderate Man the ſame Principle of *good Taſte* which regulates his *Amuſements* muſt irreſiſtibly make its way into the Oeconomy of his *Mind* and *Temper*; and lay the Foundations of ſolid *Worth* in his *inward* and *moral* Character *.

I am afraid, (interpoſed I) *Hortenſius*, this is too *liberal* a Method of Inſtruction, thus to recommend Virtue as the Perfection of good Taſte, and ſend us to the School of our moſt refined Pleaſures to learn it in, ever to paſs with our rigid Inſtructors in Morality for a *right* one: Impoſition, Command, and arbitrary Appointment are the Leſſons they chooſe to teach us; and indeed they are the only ones that can be at all fitted to introduce the Rigors of their extravagant Syſtems. Submiſſion and Reſtraint is with them all in all; and there is always the more of *Grace* in any Practice, the leſs there is of *Nature*. To cultivate a Taſte of moral Worth and Excellence from a Principle of

* See this Notion treated with the uſual Elegance of that noble Author, in the Characteriſtics, Vol. III. Miſcel. 3. Chap. 1, 2.

Decency.

Decency, *Proportion*, and *Beauty* in Actions, is a Piece of rank *philoſophic Pride*, rather than of *religious Humility*. Our Conduct is then moſt valuable in *itſelf*, when there is the leaſt Ground to think it ſo in *our* Apprehenſion of it. This *Pride* of Virtue is the *Ruin* of it; they can allow nothing to be ſuch, that flows from ſo corrupt a Principle.

YET the Principle of *Reverence to a Man's ſelf* * (returned *Hortenſius*) was thought fit to be inculcated by one of the wiſeſt Moraliſts of Antiquity; and it will ever be a very juſt Foundation of moral Merit, in ſpight of all the viſionary Conceits of ſpiritual Mortification. Pride, *Philemon*, is one of thoſe Qualities in our Nature that is either *good* or *bad*, according as it is applied. To be *proud* of, or *approve* in ourſelves, what is really excellent, is only to form a *true Eſtimate* of things: and can there be any Merit, as Mr. *Norris*, I remember, ſomewhere obſerves, in *being miſtaken* †? 'Tis then only wrong, when it is placed upon wrong Objects; when

* Παντων δε μαλις-α αισχυνεω σ'αυτον,
Was one of the capital Precepts of *Pythagoras*'s Morals, and perhaps (ſays Mr. *Norris*) one of the beſt too that ever was given to the World. *Nor.* Miſcel. 8vo. 351.

† *Nor.* as above, p. 346.

we conceit ourſelves of imaginary Worth, and neglect what is real and genuine. If it be ſaid that every Degree of Pride is criminal in the preſent imperfect State of human Nature, what is this but to ſay that it is impoſſible for Man to arrive at *any Degree* of moral Worth? an Opinion which, as *fallen* as he is repreſented to be, cannot be maintained without a manifeſt *Diſhonour* to his Maker. But to ſtate this Matter yet more clearly——If *Compulſion* be of the Eſſence of Virtue, as it is inſinuated in the Objection you mention, the Conduct of the ſupreme Being himſelf has much leſs *Merit* in it than that of the moſt *diſingenuous* of his Creatures; otherwiſe, what is a Perfection in the Deity, cannot but be ſuch in Man too, as far as he is able to imitate it. Now to practiſe Virtue, the *higheſt* Degrees of Virtue, without *Conſtraint*; to purſue it upon a Principle of *free Choice*, for the *mere Pleaſure* and Approbation of the thing itſelf, as his *Glory*, and his *Happineſs*, is what conſtitutes our Idea of the *divine Perfection:* and ſhall the ſame thing which gives ſuch a ſuperlative *Grace* and *Luſtre* to the *divine Character*, caſt a *Shade* upon the *human?* So that after all, *Philemon*, Conſtraint and Self-Denial is ſo far from being *neceſſary* to Virtue, that 'tis mere *Weakneſs* and *Want* of Virtue that gives *them* either Uſe or Expediency.

pediency. They are a *Derogation* from the true Merit of Virtue, as *far* as they are ſhewn to take place in it: and the *higheſt* State of moral Excellence is that where there is nothing of *Diſſatisfaction*, nothing of *Difficulty*; where Virtue is, as it ever ought to be, a Service of *perfect Freedom*, *generous Affection*, and *unallayed Complacency*. But this perhaps may be thought refining.—Enough however has been argued from other leſs abſtracted Topics to eſtabliſh this general Concluſion upon the whole, "that however the "Purſuits of *Pleaſure* and *Virtue* are "often repreſented as *inconſiſtent*, the *na-* "*tural* Conſtitution of things, a moſt "certain Teſtimony of the *Intention* of "their *Author*, is ſuch as never can be re- "conciled with this gloomy Principle." Providence, which does nothing in vain, would not have ſo exquiſitely adapted the Works of his hands to the Entertainment and Service of Man, if Miſery of any kind had been his determined Portion and Aſſignment in the preſent Life. The Diſcipline of Virtue is then an *eaſy* and a *liberal* Diſcipline. They are Strangers to the *lovely Form*, who repreſent her to our view with a forbidding Aſpect, with nothing but Clouds and Frowns upon her Brow. The Practice of our Duty is in the ſtricteſt Senſe to *follow Nature*: and the

the way to recommend ourſelves to a kind and good Deity is not to *haraſs* and *afflict* that Being he has in his gracious Bounty beſtowed upon us; but, upon a rational and judicious Eſtimate of things, to conſult in the moſt effectual manner at once the greateſt *Eaſe*, *Happineſs*, and *Improvement* of it. How different, *Philemon*, has been the *general Turn* of Religion in the World!

You promiſed, (ſaid I) *Hortenſius*, to give me ſome Account of this Matter: but we have dwelt ſo long upon ſome previous Points, that we are got, I perceive, almoſt to the End of our Walk; and the Evening is too far advanced upon us to think of ſtaying abroad any longer.———I hope, however, you will be as good as your word at ſome other Opportunity.

Whenever you pleaſe to call upon me, (returned he) I ſhall be ready to anſwer my Ingagement. We have eſtabliſhed a good general Foundation to proceed upon in this Queſtion; and may reſerve the farther Diſcuſſion of it to our future Leiſure or Inclination.

And thus, my *Hydaſpes*, I have brought you to a very commodious Reſting-Place in this Argument: and ſhall accordingly take

take my leave of you for the preſent; with a Promiſe of continuing my Report of our farther Conference, if you ſhall think it worth your while to require it of me.

FINIS.

Miſtakes of the Preſs.

Page 16, in the Note, χαχια for Κακια—p. 27, in the Note, line 5, *ordinum* for *ordinem*—p. 44, in the Note, l. 15, γης for της γης. Alſo l. 19, *Jovian* for *Jovinian*. —p. 45, in the Note, l. 9. ουτοι for ὗτοι—p. 53, l. 8. *further* for *farther*.

PHILEMON

TO

HYDASPES;

RELATING

A Third CONVERSATION with HORTENSIUS, upon the Subject of *Falſe Religion.*

IN WHICH

Some GENERAL ACCOUNT is indeavoured to be given of the Riſe and Conſtitution of *Falſe Theory* in Religion in the *earlier* Pagan World.

Ασωματως και αφανως εν πασιν ονται Θεου, και δια παντων διηκοντα, και τουτον εικοτως Δια των Δεδηλωμενων σεβειν φασι. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib. 3. cap. 13.

LONDON:
Printed for M. STEEN, in the *Inner-Temple-Lane.*
M.DCC.XXXIX.

of the World; as threatning to disturb that easy *Insignificance* of Manner, and Relaxation of Thought and Temper, which is the admired Excellency and Distinction of that Character. But here, methought, the Scruple began to remove, when upon Recollection it appeared, that the whole Foundation of it was laid in a gross Fallacy and Mistake. "That *Solemnity* is a necessary Branch of "true *Seriousness*." For if indeed the two Ideas were perfectly different, there could be no occasion for your renouncing any part of the agreable Sprightliness of your Polite Character, in order to save the Dignity of your Philosophic one. They might yet, for any thing I could discern to the contrary, maintain with perfect Consistence their distinct Provinces, and each have its *Privilege* of *Turn*. In many Cases it might even be necessary they should unite in one common Cause and Interest; and, with equal Propriety, and Advantage to each other, demand a joint Interposition and Authority in the very same Article of Life. The Caution of the Philosopher might sometimes be of singular Use to restrain the Indecencies of a too licentious Freedom; and the Sprightliness of a well conducted Freedom, to temper the Rigors of a too scrupulous Philosophy. Particularly, if, in the course of severer Thought, Religion should sometimes fall under consideration, there seemed here an indispensable

ble Neceſſity for playing certain *ſprightlier* Fancies, and Ideas of a more *cheerful* Aſpect, againſt the variouſly *diſquieting Phantoms* of devout Jealouſy; and ſuch *moroſe* and *unfriendly* Exhibitions of Divinity, as a melancholic Imagination might be apt to form to itſelf from a Nature, powerful, but imperfectly comprehended. Religion, in plain Truth, from the mere Weight and Importance of its Subject runs ſo naturally into the *tragic* Vein, that we muſt arm ourſelves with a competent Pleaſantry of Diſpoſition, and Stock of good Spirits, before we ſet about it, or we ſhall certainly make a *thorow Tragedy* of it in the End. Thus indeed it has too often ended in Fact; as the Poet long ago complained*, and you will have too frequent Examples in that Report of its Hiſtory, which, *Hortenſius*, if you continue to require it, has inſtructed me to make to you. What you have now before you, is a kind of general Introduction to this Subject. In which, *Hortenſius*, by way of Key to the more conſiderable Articles, he had, you know, ingaged himſelf to ſpeak to, of *falſe Practice*, has examined briefly into the Origin, and primitive Conſtitution of *falſe Theory in Religion*, in the Pagan World. The particular Occaſion of which Diſquiſition was, I haſten to acquaint you, as follows.

* *Tantum Relligio potuit ſuadere malorum.*
Lucret. lib. 1.

PART II.

FINDING my ſelf, one Morning, after Breakfaſt, alone in the Poſſeſſion of *Hortenſius* in his Study; we have now (ſaid I to him) an excellent Opportunity, if you have no particular Engagement of your own upon your hands, to reſume the Subject of our Converſation the other Night *. You then abundantly convinced me of the wretched Abſurdity of *Falſe Religion*; I wiſh you would now proceed to the Execution of your Promiſe to me in concluſion, of running over with me the general Hiſtory of it in the World.

THE Hiſtory of *Falſe Religion* (ſaid he) *Philemon*, is the Hiſtory of all thoſe numberleſs Miſapplications to which the Apprehenſion of ſuperior inviſible Agency in the Univerſe; as reaſonable, as it is natural, to precarious and dependent Humanity; is liable, from the ignorant and cowardly Credulity of one Part of our Species; and the ſubtil enterprizing Sagacity, and Invention of the

* See a Pamphlet intitled, *Phil. to Hyd.* Part II.

the other. 'Tis a Subject of equal Extent, in the religious Conſideration of Mankind, with all that Folly has ever been weak enough to ſubmit to; or Knavery artful enough to authorize. To trace it back to its firſt Origin in the World, is, in a manner, to trace back human Abſurdity and Corruption to a firſt Period. It is to detect all the multiplied Deluſions of the Miſtaken; and the Stratagems of the Deſigning: To diſcloſe all the ſecret Occaſions of Miſapprehenſion to the Simple; all the correſponding Opportunities of Impoſture to the Crafty. Such in general is the Hiſtory of Falſe Religion——a Hiſtory, I need not obſerve to you, ſo connected with that of Mankind *in general*, that an accurate Delineation of the one preſuppoſes an exact Knowledge of the other. Nor need I ſuggeſt to you the neceſſary Conſequence of this Obſervation; the Allowance required to be made in a Re-ſearch of this Nature for, what you are too well acquainted with, to be here informed of, the doubtful and defective State of more ancient and remote Hiſtory. The truth is, a great part of the *Ritual* of ancient Superſtition lies buried in impenetrable Obſcurity. An Attempt to explain it would now-a-days be as fruitleſs, as of old it would probably have been held irreverent or criminal. But notwithſtanding in the Progreſſive Advancements of its Empire, we may be too often at

a loſs to adjuſt the true Reaſon and Meaning of *particular Inſtitutions*, we may, I think, diſcern enough of its more *general Scope* and *Tendency*, to ſatisfy ourſelves upon competent Evidence and Obſervation in this regard, " that however, in the variety of Seaſons, " and Circumſtances, the *Engines* of its Ty- " ranny have been almoſt infinitely diverſi- " fied, the *Spirit* of it has been always one " and the ſame." It has, in ſhort, been ever doing juſt what it is at this day; in-ſlaving the Minds, perverting the Affections, haraſſing the Perſons, and ingroſſing to its ſelf the Properties of Mankind.

——*Servatur ad imum*
Qualis ab incepto proceſſerit——

To fix ſome Method to our Inquiry, *Philemon*, you muſt give me leave to tranſport you for a while, from the more familiar Scenes of *European* Slavery of this ſort, to that favourite Realm, and if not originally *Parent-Soil* of Superſtition (as it was by ſome of its own fanciful Naturaliſts ſaid to be of the Species of Mankind *,) yet doubtleſs *wonderfully ſucceſsful one* in the univerſal Culture and Improvement of it; *Egypt* †. If

* Φασιν Αιγυπτιοι καλα την εξ αρχης των ὁλων γενεσιν πρωτας Ανθρωπους γενεσθαι καλα την Αιγυπτον, δια τε την ευκρασιαν της χωρας, και δια την φυσιν του Νειλου. Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. 1. p. 9.

† Αιγυπτιοι θεοσεβεες δε περισσως εοντες μαλις-α παντων Ανθρωπων. Herod. Lib. 2. cap. 37.

If ſhe had not in ſtrict Truth the proper Merit of original *Invention*, ſhe has engroſſed to herſelf however, almoſt the whole Glory of *Example* in the kind; having by early Exportations of her Natives to foreign Countries, eſpecially to *Greece*, and the *Aſiatic* Iſlands, circulated her Superſtitions together with her Diſcoveries of a happier Influence, as her own proper Growth and Produce, thro' the far greateſt Part of the weſtern World. We have moreover, by means of the frequent Communications of *Greece* with *Egypt*, in the more advanced Periods of *Grecian* Literature, an Opportunity afforded us of knowing much more of the religious Cuſtoms of *Egypt*, than of any other Nation of equal Antiquity. Her Reputation was very high for *Wiſdom*, both in ſacred and profane Eſtimation, from the earlieſt Monuments we have of either. And one great Inſtance of this Wiſdom ſhe ſo much excelled in, we have good reaſon to believe, was the Science of Religion apply'd, as ſhe thought, to the Purpoſes of a more improved Legiſlation. It was the Credit of *this*, together with that of her Philoſophy in general, that drew over the more inquiſitive Wits of *Greece* to a Participation of her important Secrets in both kinds. Her *Colleges* were eſteemed the great Repoſitories of uſeful Knowledge. And Travelling was in thoſe times, as it is ſtill in

our

our own, *Philemon*, reputed the finiſhing Article of a refined Education.

THERE cannot be a ſtronger Image of Ridicule, (I could not help here interrupting) *Hortenſius*, than ariſes from the Compariſon of certain *modiſh Travellers* of later Ages, with the *travell'd Literati* of Antiquity. Methinks, 'tis great pity we ſhould ſtill retain a Reverence for the mere outward Ceremony of this Practice, whilſt, as it is too often managed, it ſerves little other purpoſe, than to reproach us with having altogether forgot, or miſtaken the main End and Reaſon of it. It was the Improvement of the Mind, not barely the forming a Perſon, or acquiring only a little ſprightly Impertinence, and modiſh Addreſs, that was thought worth travelling for in the Judgment of ancient Wiſdom. Had any of the *Travelled* of thoſe Days been found to have returned to their own Country with the Importation only of foreign Vice, Folly, and Extravagance, inſtead of uſeful Information, improved Curioſity, and real Knowledge; they would have been eſteemed to have done ſomething much worſe than barely making a foreign Tour *ridiculous*.

THEY certainly would ſo, (returned *Hortenſius*) but the miſchief is, we are come to look upon Travelling as an Accompliſhment merely

merely of the *polite* Kind, inſtead of what the Ancients did, as, principally at leaſt, of the *learned* one. And as both our Notion of, and Preparation for it, are extremely different from theirs, 'tis no wonder our Succeſs in it ſhould be ſo too. They ſet out, as you have rightly obſerved, upon quite other Views than a bare faſhionable Ramble, or Opportunity of genteel Expence. If they viſited an *Egyptian Convent*, it was not only to be able to report its *Situation*, or its *Architecture*, but to learn its *Myſteries*. To acquaint themſelves with the Subſtance and Hiſtory of its Diſcoveries either in *Science* or *Religion*; and obſerve the real Ground and Foundation of that *awful Reverence* from the Populace of its particular Diſtrict, which ſupported both its Wealth and Dignity. This was penetrating into the intire Secrets of the Order; and would, if compaſſed, as it was only to be, by certain preparative Diſciplines of Sacerdotal Appointment, and ſometimes very tedious Applications to the Intereſts, or Vanity of the Prieſthood, afford them that Light into the general Theory and Conſtitution of the popular Worſhip of the Country, which, with due Reſerves to the *profound Sanctity* of the important Subject, in many Caſes to be *adored* only, without being *publickly comprehended*; they have ſeveral of them tranſmitted to Poſterity.

It was a remarkable Inſtance (ſaid I) of this *reſerved Manner*, and uncommunicative Cloſeneſs of the *Egyptian* Hierarchy, what *Strabo* relates of *Plato* and *Eudoxus*; "that in a ſtay of thirty Years in *Egypt*, "and a courſe of conſtant Application and "Obſequiouſneſs to the Prieſts of *Heliopolis*, "they at length with great Difficulty extort-"ed from them the Diſcovery, that the true "Meaſure of the Year conſiſted of ſix Hours "over and above the common Reckoning "then uſed in *Greece* *." One would have thought, the Reputation of being the Diſcoverers in this Caſe, ſhould have inclined them to a readier Communication of what could not but heighten their learned Character. If they eſteemed the Obſervation, as it certainly was, a very important one to the Service of common Life, it was ſurely a moſt *unbenevolent Policy* in them to affect to make a *Myſtery* of it; a Narrowneſs of Thinking not eaſily to be forgiven in ſuch *knowing* and *ſacred* Characters.

An

* Συνδιέτριψαν τοις ἱερευσιν εκεινοι ενταυθα τρισκαιδεκα ετη· περιτους γαρ ουτας καλα την επιστημην των ουρανιων, μυστικους δε και δυσμεταδοτους, τω χρονω και ταις θεραπειαις εξελιπαρησαν, ὡστε τινα των θεωρημαλων ἱστορησαι——τα επιτρεχοντα της ἡμερας και της νυκτος μοιρια ταις τριακοσιαις ἑξηκοντα πεντε ἡμεραις εις την εκπληρωσιν του ενιαυτου χρονου παρεδοσαν. Strab. Geog. Lib. 17. p. 806.

An Affectation of *Myſtery* (returned *Hortenſius*) even in Subjects where one would *leaſt* expect it, was the *prevailing Characteriſtic* of *Egyptian* Literature, as well as Religion. I believe the ſingular Uſe they experienced it to be of in the Purpoſes of the one, introduced the Practice of it into the other. They had *ſo many* Occaſions for the *reſerved Manner* in their Theological Concerns, that the Habit by degrees became general, and extended it ſelf to their Conduct in other matters. The Difficulty with which *Pythagoras*, long before the Times you have been ſpeaking of, obtained the Honour of Admittance to the Arcana of the ſacred Tribe, is at large related by *Porphyry* from *Antiphon**. Even with the Recommendation of a royal Mandate for the Purpoſe, obtained at the Requeſt of *Polycrates* from King *Amaſis*, he could hardly at laſt ſucceed in the Execution of his Deſign; but was turned over from one *College* to another, upon certain Punctilio's of *Ceremony* between the ſeveral Eſtabliſhments; from *Heliopolis*, to *Memphis*, and from thence again to *Thebes*; where, when for fear of incurring the Diſpleaſure of the King, the Prieſts durſt not trifle with him any longer; they hoped however to diſcourage him from his Purſuit, by the barbarous *Severity* of their preparatory

* Porph. de Vita Pythag. p. 183.

Diſciplines, and Rites of Initiation *. But finding him ſtill reſolute and perſevering, they at length fairly took him into their Secret; and, as appears by his After-Conduct, made a *thorow Myſtic* of him. But in truth, *Philemon*, they had a better Reaſon than merely an acquired Moroſeneſs, or Reſerve *becoming* the Statelineſs of a more *raiſed* and *dignified* Character, for adopting this *ſhy Manner*, and *cautious Ceremony* into their *Philoſophic Teaching*; ſince in reality, the very foundation of their *inſtituted Religion*, and all its important *Myſteries* was laid in certain *Dogmata* or Principles of their Philoſophy. " It was the Worſhip of the ſeveral " *Powers*, and *Paſſions* of external Nature " *exemplified* by an artificial Accommoda- " tion in the Hiſtory, Adventures, and Suffer- " ings, of certain of their *earlieſt Heroes*, and " great Men of Antiquity; whoſe Benefac- " tions to their Country and commoneſt Paſ- " ſages of Life, were by Time, and a ſuc- " ceſſively heightened Tradition, wrought " up to that *critical Meaſure* of *Obſcurity*, " which in the Language of a late polite " Author of your Acquaintance, *is the beſt* " *Light to place a Wonder in* †: that in the " due

* Νομισαντων ευ τω μεγεθει της κακοπαθειας αποσ-ησειν αυλον της εκβολης, ωροσλαγμαλα σκληρα και κεχωρισμενα της ἑλληνικης αγωγης κελευσαι ὑπομειναι αυτον. Ubi ſupra.

† The Life of *Homer*, p. 277.

" due Progreſs and Refinement of Regal and " Sacerdotal Politics, made up the *ſtanding* " *Body* and *complete Syſtem* of *Egyptian au-* " *thorized* Theology *." It was a Work of much time, *Philemon*, and required no ordinary Reach of Thought, and Subtilty of Invention to bring it to that approved *Perfection* in the kind, as to give the Law to all ſucceeding religious Eſtabliſhments of Pagan Antiquity ; and having drawn over the *Wiſdom* of *Greece* to an Examination of its *Conduct* and *Genius*, to ſend them back to their own Country reſolved within their reſpective Influences to introduce its *Practice*. The Origin of all this Parade of *elaborate*, and too often *barbarous Heroe-phyſiologic* Superſtition, was, if you will take the word of a *Right Reverend Greek* Hiſtorian of *Chriſtian* times, ſupported, if *ſuch* a Character can need a Support, in his Aſſertion by the unanimous Suffrage of the beſt *Pagan* Authorities in the Point, extremely ſimple and popular. Being indeed nothing elſe but the *artleſs Devotion* which Minds naturally apprehenſive of *ſuperior active Power* in the Univerſe, and deſirous at the ſame time, for the eaſe both of Conception and Addreſs, to aſſign it ſome particular viſible Reſidence, could not avoid paying

* Quippe Sacerdotes Hiſtoriæ; ac Naturæ gnari, attendebant in re Geſta quid ſimile foret in Natura : ac pro utroque formabant ſacra ſua. *Voſſ. de Idol.* Lib. 2. Cap. 56, p. 617. 4to.

paying to the moſt *ſtriking*, *operative*, and *uſeful* Objects they had any acquaintance with, the Sun, Moon, and Hoſt of Heaven *.

Of all the various kinds of idolatrous Worſhip (interpoſed I) this ſurely, *Hortenſius*, is the moſt innocent, or at leaſt excuſable one. 'Tis well for us, even in theſe Ages of improved Light and Information, that the Familiarity of theſe Objects has a natural Effect to abate the Wonder, and awful Impreſſion of them; or I queſtion, whether our *Religion* itſelf would be ſometimes found a ſufficient Check to prevent our relapſing into *Paganiſm* in this Article. Seriouſly, *Hortenſius*, a Man had need be of a more than ordinary cautious and philoſophic Make, or an infinitely ſtupid and inſenſible one, to attend

* Αλλ' ὁτι μεν οἱ πρωτοι και παλαιοτατοι των ανθρωπων, ουτε ναων οικοδομιαις προσειχον, ουτε ξοανων αφιδρυμασιν, ουπω τοτε γραφικης, ουδε πλαστικες, η γλυπτικης, η ανδριαντοποιητικης τεχνης εφευρημενης, ουδε μην οικοδομικης, ουδε αρχιτεκτονικης συνεστωσης, παυτι τω οιμαι συλλογιζομενω δηλον ειναι· ουτ' ουν τις ην αυτοις Ζευς, ου Κρονος, ου Ποσειδων, ουκ Απολλων, ουκ Ἡρα, ουκ Αθηνα, ου Διονυσος, ουδε τις ἑτερος θηλεια τε και αρρην θεος, οἱοι μετα ταυτα μυριοι παρα τε Βαρβαροις και Ἑλλησιν· αλλ' ουδε δαιμων τις αγαθος, η φαυλος εν ανθρωποις εθαυμαζετο· μονα δε τα φαινομενα των ουρανιων αστρων, παρα του θεειν, ὁπερ εστι τρεχειν, θεων τε προσηγοριαις, ὡς αυτοι φασιν, ετυγχανε. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. p. 30.

tend the *illuſtrious Solemnities* of opening Sunſhine, without ſome *warmer* Emotions than a merely ſpeculative Admiration! Struck with the ſurpaſſing Splendor and Majeſty of the Appearance, and cheared by the gladſome Influences, and intimate Refreſhment of the all-inlivening Beam, how hard is it to ſuppreſs the riſing Tranſports of a too eager Gratitude, and guard againſt the Inclination to ſomething of *immediate Devotion!* How difficult, even with the Help of his *Phyſics*, as well as of his *Creed*, to repel the Infection of that univerſal Chorus of Joy, and ſeemingly-*religious* Acclamation of the *auſpicious Preſence*, of which all inferior animated Nature affords him the inticing Example! But happily for the Faith of the *politer World*, *Hortenſius*, who, it muſt be own'd, are *moſt in Danger* from Temptations to renounce it, they are in no peril of being ſtagger'd in it from this Quarter. A certain falſe Refinement of Living, ſuppoſed the *Privilege* of higher Birth and Education, has thrown a Diſcredit upon the Entertainment of this *imbelliſhed early Scene*, as being in the Poet's Language,——*Uſu plebeio trita voluptas* *——a Species of Pleaſure diſgraced by vulgar Uſe; and its being acceſſible to all who have Senſe enough, or Nature enough left in them, to partake of it! a Scene, *Hortenſius*, which, becauſe it affords the

* Petron. Arb.

the *commoneſt*, does for that very Reaſon, in the beneficent Appointment of Things, afford likewiſe the moſt *exquiſite* Entertainment! an Entertainment of ſuch unparallel'd Beauty, Delicacy, and Magnificence, that the moſt elaborate Refinements of human Art and Elegance; the heighten'd Ornaments and auguſt Grandeurs of a Palace; the glittering Oeconomy and wanton Luſtres of an Aſſembly; the ſtudied Pageantry and Decorations of a Theatre; *hide their diminiſhed Heads*, and ſhrink into nothing upon the Compariſon! I am fallen, *Hortenſius*, as you ſee, into a kind of natural Enthuſiaſm. But really the Image here is ſo tranſporting, even to us who view it in the *mild Lights* of a *Philoſophy*, no leſs than a *Religion*, conſpiring to weaken the Force of it; that in Ages far leſs improved in *both*, I ſee not how it was poſſible not to be miſled by it, without ſome ſupernatural Aſſiſtance to that Purpoſe. Nor can I well conceive it within the Capacity of more ignorant and uninformed Simplicity, in the firſt Ages of Mankind, to withſtand, without ſome previous Guard from immediate Revelation, the Seducements of ſo *ſpecious* an Idolatry. How naturally would the inquiſitive Curioſity of recent and wondering Mortals, equally unfurniſhed with the Materials, and unpractiſed in the Arts of more *correct* and *philoſophic* Reaſoning, not only addreſs itſelf,

as

as our Poet *Milton* deſcribes *Adam* to have done, for the Reſolution of this important Queſtion,

——*How came I thus, how here?*
Not of myſelf—— *

To that moſt *probable* Author of Information in this Affair,

The golden Sun——

In the Judgment of one who was well acquainted with the great Object he compared him to;

In ſplendor likeſt Heaven. †

Equally ſuited to *allure* both their *Eyes*, and their *Adoration*: But even preſume it had received a very *ſatisfactory* Anſwer in the Point; when it had aſcribed the Origin of its own Exiſtence, and the whole World's about it, to this *ſeemingly adequate* Cauſe, and *genial Power* of the Syſtem! Eſpecially, would it be inclined to do ſo, when having firſt experienc'd the Horrors of his Abſence, and in the Gloom and Sadneſs of the Night deſpaired of any *laſting Continuance* of Being, it diſcovered him at his appointed Seaſon returning again in the Eaſt; the Reſtorer of Light, and Comfort,

* *Par loſt*, Book 8. 273, 277—8.
† Book 3. 572—3.

and *Renewer* of a *ſuſpected periſhing* World! when, as our Poet ſpeaks;

Firſt in the Eaſt his glorious Lamp was ſeen,
Regent of Day; and all th' Horizon round,
Inveſted with bright Rays—— *

Under theſe Circumſtances, *Hortenſius*, I can think of no expedient to prevent Men's inſtantly falling down and worſhipping him, but an authoritative Interpoſal and Prohibition from *His*, and *Their*, *immediate* Maker. In ſhort, *Hortenſius*, the Temptations in new-formed and uninſtructed Man to a *wrong* Religion ſeem to be ſo powerful, that I cannot imagine he could of *himſelf* in many Ages reaſon out a *right* one.

You have given the Reins to your Fancy, (reſumed *Hortenſius*, with his uſual Complaiſance) very entertainingly, *Philemon*. I was unwilling to interrupt your Flow of Thought, and check your agreable Enthuſiaſm, or I could have told you I was fully poſſeſt of your Sentiment ſome time ago. You would have the firſt Man *ſupernaturally* let into the true Notion of a Deity, not ſo properly to *preclude* his rational Inquiries concerning One, as to *direct* them. To prevent the Deluſions of a too haſty Imagination; and put him upon a right Scent and Train of Thinking,

* *Par. loſt*, Book 7. 370—1.

Thinking. Rather to guard him againſt Error, than to teach him poſitive Truth. Religion, the great Lines of it, were undoubtedly intended to be the Deductions, as they are fairly within the compaſs, of ſound Reaſon. If any *ſupernatural* Diſcovery of them was at firſt made, it was, we may imagine, however, of the moſt *general* Kind; and deſigned only to ſupply the Place of that Reaſoning and Philoſophy, which as *yet* was neceſſarily of impracticable Attempt, thro' the Defect of thoſe *requiſite Materials* to it, a previous competent Acquaintance with, and Obſervation of Things: However, in its proper Seaſon and Opportunities of Exerciſe, it was manifeſtly *ordained*, as it is thorowly qualified, of Heaven, to be the Inſtrument to Mankind, of aſſuring to themſelves the ſame important Truths upon Principles of a rational Conviction.

I would not be underſtoood (ſaid I) *Hortenſius*, in any wiſe to undervalue the Evidence and Authority of Reaſon. Nor can I, indeed, ſee any Diſparagement to it in ſuppoſing, that it could not go to work without neceſſary Inſtruments; or that a Faculty of Judging upon examined Evidence could not exert itſelf, 'till ſuch Evidence was laid before it: any more than I can diſcover the Juſtneſs of that Concluſion which ſome would eſtabliſh from hence;

that Reaſon, *now in its Maturity of Age and Obſervation*, is no ſafe Guide, no proper Arbitrator in Matters of Religion. It ſeems to me to be aſſerting, that becauſe Reaſon cannot proceed *without* Ideas; therefore it cannot afterwards *with* them. Becauſe a Man has *no Uſe* of his Eye-ſight in the *Dark*, therefore he is to *diſtruſt* the Reports of it in *open Day*. A Diſingenuity of Thinking, which ſhews either a very weak Cauſe, or a very injudicious, as well as unfair Management of it.

One may, I think, from hence diſcern pretty clearly (reply'd *Hortenſius*) the high Ridicule and Abſurdity of thoſe pompous Repreſentations which are ſometimes given us of the *ſuperior Wiſdom*, and almoſt *Angelic Penetration*, of the *firſt Parent* of Mankind, upon his new Introduction into the World. And with how unwarrantable a Civility he is by ſome Writers of his Hiſtory complimented into a Degree of Underſtanding, and Force of Genius, ſo much *beyond* the utmoſt Reach and Comprehenſion of his Poſterity. * He had, it ſhould ſeem, little

* Ουτος (Αδαμ ὁ πρωτος ανθρωπος) δικαιως αν πρωτος καλοιτο σοφος, ὡς παντων των χαριτων ὑπαρχων αναπλεως, και παντα καθαρα και ακιβδηλα περιφερων τα της ψυχης τε και σωματος αισθητηρια· μαρμαρυγαι γαρ τινες, ὡς ειπειν, εκ της εκεινου ψυχης απασραπτουσαι, και θειων εννοιων τε και ενεργειων πληθουσαι, κατα πασων εισετρεχου

little Cauſe to be *conceited* of the *Privilege*, however he had done well to have *thankfully ſubmitted* to the *Authority* of a *ſupernatural* Guidance and Direction; of which, we ſee, the *whole* Reaſon, Opportunity, and Expedience, aroſe meerly from his *own perſonal* Incapacity, and *natural* Ignorance.

If the intellectual Advantages of our firſt Parent (interpos'd I) had been really ſo much *ſuperior* to thoſe of all his Deſcendents, as they are ſometimes ſaid to have been; methinks all who have any *Tenderneſs* for his Reputation ſhould chooſe rather to conceal the *Superiority* of his Talents, than diſplay them to the ſo much *greater Reproach* of his ſhameful Negligence and Miſconduct in the *Uſe* and *Application* of them; for which, if

εισετρεχον Φυσιν. Suidas voce Adam. Upon which the learned Editor very juſtly remarks, Auctorem hunc anonymum exiguo Judicio præditum fuiſſe, et verè de eo dici potuiſſe proverbiale illud, "Flumen verborum, et gutta Mentis" ex tota hac de Adam Ecloga ſatis apparet.——It was, no doubt, in Virtue of theſe ſuperior Talents, that upon a very ſlight Experience in the Kind, he was nevertheleſs able to write, as the *Rabbins* inform us he did, de omnibus et ſingulis Mundanarum rerum virtutibus.—Unleſs theſe, together with the ſeveral Revolutions of Nature, were part of thoſe Inſtructions from above, which the ſame Authors relate to have been the Subject of *the Book of the Generations of* Adam; mention'd *Gen.* 5. 1. and in which, it ſeems, were explained, omnia a Principio Mundi uſque ad conſummationem Ejus. *Vid.* Kircheri Obel. Pamph. Lib. 1. Cap. 1.

if it be true, that he was indeed the *wiſeſt*, I am ſure it is much more ſo, that he was incomparably the *weakeſt*, as well as *wickedeſt* of his whole Kind. But after all, *Hortenſius*, I think we have no Reaſon to ſuppoſe that he was at all different from the Generality of his Species, either in his natural or moral Accompliſhments; farther than what the neceſſary Difference of his Situation and Circumſtances made him. Which, if they might be in ſome reſpects perhaps rather *more favourable* to the latter, as adminiſtring *fewer Opportunities* of Temptation within the few Relations he could then be ſuppoſed to act under; (tho' the Event ſhews he yet found Means to tranſgreſs even them) were certainly far *leſs ſo* to the former; his natural Indowments; than thoſe of any of his Poſterity. Inaſmuch as it was his *peculiar* Diſadvantage, a Diſadvantage ariſing out of the very Neceſſity of his Condition; to want all thoſe Helps to his Judgment of Things, from the Experience, Obſervation, and Reaſoning of paſt Times, which are in a manner *hereditary* to later Ages, and ſet them much *forwarder* in Informations of all ſorts neceſſary to the Conduct of Life, almoſt in the *firſt Article* of it, than a *ſingle Individual* could be ſuppoſed to be at the *concluſion* of a very conſiderable old Age. But to leave our venerable Progenitor to the quiet Poſſeſſion of all

that

that really is his due, of whatever Kind; let us purſue our main Subject of Inquiry, *Hortenſius*; in which, I ſuppoſe, he is very little concerned. For whatever *other* Faults he may be charged with, I imagine he was ſcarcely guilty of *Superſtition.*

HAVE a care of being too ſanguine, *Philemon* (returned *Hortenſius*) I doubt I could diſprove your Conjecture, if I was ſo diſpoſed; and produce Evidence, ſuch as it is, of his being not only infected with, but even Author of a very prevailing Superſtition in all Antiquity; the religious Adoration of the Moon. 'Tis true, the ſame Authorities tell us, that he had received Obligations from her as his native Soil and Country; where, prepared with requiſite Inſtructions for the *Ceremony* of her *Apotheoſis*, he was ſent down to the Earth to appoint in due Time her *ſacred Ritual* and *Liturgy*; in a Character he was to ſuſtain from her previous Deſignation, of the *Embaſſador* or *Apoſtle* of this *Queen of Heaven.** His Son *Seth* indeed was ſtaggered at this new Doctrine, and Inſtitution; and could not be prevailed upon

* It was Part of the *Zabian* Creed, derived to them, as we learn from *Kircher*, from the Family of *Cham*; to wit, *Chus*, *Phut*, and *Canaan*, the Peoplers of *Aſia* and *Africa*; *Adamum* e Lunâ prodiiſſe. Prophetam inibi ex maſculo et fæmina procreatum; atque in hunc mundum venientem primum cultum Lunæ docuiſſe. Vid. Oedip. Ægypt. *p.* 166.

upon to admit the *Credentials* of his Father's Miſſion *; but *Cain* was of a leſs ſcrupulous Make, and paid all due Reverence to this *Lunar Envoyſhip*; and has accordingly the honor in ſome Writers I could name, of ſtanding ſecond in the Liſt of Antediluvian Idolaters. †

I HOPE (ſaid I) *Hortenſius*, this lunar Apoſtleſhip and Deſignation of our firſt Parent was no Part of *thoſe Revelations* made to him when he fell into a *deep Sleep*; which, if I miſtake not, I have ſomewhere read, he is mentioned by one of the Fathers, ‡ as being reported to have himſelf committed to writing; to the, no doubt, wonderful Information of his Poſterity, if we had but been ſo *fortunate* as to have this important *paradiſiacal* Viſion conveyed ſafely down to us.

IT might, I think, be more *naturally* recorded (replied *Hortenſius*) in *another* Compoſition of this truly *original* Author's, mentioned by St. *Auſtin*, *The Book of his Penitence*.

FROM whence (ſaid I) as a Pattern of *Right-primitive* Diſcipline, who knows, but

* Seth contradixit opinioni patris ſui in ſervitio Lunæ—Ub. Sup.

† See Biſhop *Cumberland*'s Sanchoniatho.

‡ *Epiphanius*.

but the Father himſelf might take the uſeful Hints of his own *Confeſſions?* as, to carry the Analogy a little farther, from the Tradition I was ſpeaking of, of the Protoplaſt's being himſelf ſo powerfully *Viſion-ſtruck*, it may poſſibly have come to paſs, that moſt of thoſe Writers who have attempted his Hiſtory, have thought it neceſſary to obtain a proper Touch of the Viſionary-paſſion.

THESE Inſtances (reſum'd *Hortenſius*) of Conceits about our firſt Parent, to which numberleſs others might be added from Chriſtian Fathers, as well as Jewiſh Rabbins, or *Arabic* Legendaries; if they are at firſt ſight more obviouſly *ridiculous*, are, believe me, full as *well-grounded*, as ſome Imaginations of a much *ſoberer* Aſpect, that have been indulged by better Authors, upon the ſame Subject. Seriouſly, *Philemon*, when one conſiders the Volumes that have been here filled with Romances, both of the grave, and the lighter kind, it might almoſt incline one to ſuſpect ſomething more than a mere *Arabian Whimſy* in the Hypotheſis of the *lunar Apoſtolate*, and that the great *Prophet of the Moon* had really made very free with *certain* Influences of his principal Deity, in diſtempering the Minds of his inſpired Train; were it not, that avoiding all unhandſome Reflections either on the *Goddeſs*, or her *Miniſter*, one

can pretty eaſily ſolve the Problem another Way; without ſtirring a Foot from the Surface of our Mother *Earth*. In ſhort, *Philemon*, Men will be concluding without Premiſes. They firſt deviſe, each according to his particular Genius, a Syſtem of Opinions; and then torture both Fact and Invention to furniſh out Proofs. They inthrone an *Idol Preſence* in the Court of their own Brain, and then induſtriouſly caſt about for Evidences to make out the Phantom's Title to Adoration.

AND they had need have the *Lynx's Beam*, (I interpoſed) to diſcern any Countenance to ſome Idol-Theories I could name, from the *only* Authority they have any Right to appeal to in the Caſe; the few imperfect Hints afforded us of the Hiſtory and Circumſtances of the new Creation, within the compaſs of three Chapters only of our Bible, and thoſe perhaps of more intricate and diſputable Interpretation, than any others in the whole ſacred Collection.

THE more obſcure the better, (returned *Hortenſius*;) Are not you aware, *Philemon*, that there is always moſt room for Conjecture, where there is leaſt certainty of Fact? and 'tis *that* after all that furniſhes Materials to the endleſs Volumes we have been ſpeaking of; and gives, as an *excellent* Writer

Writer has it, ſuch *a Roundneſs* to ſome favorite Syſtems of Divinity *. A few Hints well managed, with an Invention to ſupply Chaſms, and help out Deficiencies, will work *Wonders* in the kind.

For our Comfort (replied I) we have at preſent no concern with theſe Syſtematic Gentlemen. 'Tis true, I have carried up your Thoughts to a firſt Man, whom I have ſuppoſed both *ſupernaturally* produced, and inſtructed. But I have no deſire to ingage you in any of the *ſubſequent* Perplexities of the paradiſiacal State. I am for leaving the Solution of theſe Difficulties to more *authorized* Expoſitors; who can talk as *familiarly* both of the *natural*, and *moral* Hiſtory of that State, as if they themſelves had been of the Party with their venerable Progenitor; or the ſeveral Tranſactions ſuppoſed to have paſſed there, were Matters of *every Day*'s Occurrence. The Principle I am pleading for neither requires their Aſſiſtance in its ſupport, nor ſtands charged with any of their Abſurdities. 'Tis ſuch a one as mere *good Senſe* would lead us to acquieſce in, if an *inſpired* Hiſtorian had not authorized it to us. The Species muſt have had a beginning; and an Effect of this Nature could not have been produced without ſome adequate Cauſe; and what ſo ſuitable Agent

* *Warburton*'s Div. Leg. of *Moſes*, *p.* 402.

can we imploy here, as an omnipotent and infinitely benevolent Deity? Then as to a divine Inſtruction, it ſeems as neceſſary to the right Inſtitution of the infant moral World, as a divine Agency to the Being of the natural One. In both Caſes, I think, we do not bring in a *Deus ex Machinâ* only; the Introduction of him ſeems equally unavoidable, as it is important.

I AM in the number of the moſt confirmed Believers (return'd *Hortenſius*) as to the firſt of theſe Articles; and I think there is a ſtrong probability of the ſecond. Yet, methinks, I am a little ſtaggered to reconcile ſuch a ſeeming tenderneſs and concern of Heaven in the Cauſe of true Religion, with that early Introduction, and almoſt boundleſs conſequent Empire, of which I am going to give you in ſome ſort the Hiſtory, of Falſe.

HOWEVER early it came into the World, (replied I) *Hortenſius*, *notwithſtanding* the kind Caution I am pleading for, it would certainly have come in earlier *without* it. It muſt indeed in this Caſe, as it ſhould ſeem, have been ſtrictly coeval with the Species of Mankind. And ſurely ſuch an apparent neceſſitating Men to a wrong Worſhip, is at leaſt a *harder* Thought of infinite Wiſdom and Veracity, than a mere Permiſſion

miſſion of them, in the neglect or abuſe o their natural Underſtanding and Liberty, to fall off from a preſcribed right one. We are apt, it may be, to over-rate both the Meaſure, and the Force, of theſe *original Suggeſtions*; as much as ſome have done the *natural Powers* of the firſt Man. As if all ſuperior Interpoſition muſt either be extended to the eſtabliſhing a complete Syſtem of ſpeculative Religion; or prevail to the abſolute Determination of the human Will to that which is practical. Doubtleſs the Voice of Heaven in theſe early Notices to its infant Creature was altogether of the *ſtill ſmall Kind*. The Impulſe was, as it ought to be, extremely gentle, ſuited to the natural Freedom of the intereſted Party. And the Effect of it, we may imagine, was like that of the fam'd *Socratic Genius*, chiefly of the reſtraining ſort: calculated more to prevent a miſapplied Devotion, than to inſtitute a perfectly rational One. Perhaps a more forcible Application, or a ſuperior Degree of infuſed Light, would have been incompatible with that rational Liberty of *Man*, which is the valuable Diſtinction of the Homage of an intelligent *moral* Creature, from the implicit Submiſſion, and overruled Obedience of a mere ſenſeleſs Inſtrument, or Machine. Upon the whole, whatever be the right Determination of this Point, there is, I am ſenſible, no diſputing againſt

againſt Fact. But pray, how ſoon do you ſuppoſe, a *falſe Religion* to have actually taken place in the World?

I WAS for giving the Difficulty (return'd he) its utmoſt force; in order to hear what you would find to ſay in extenuation of it. For to deal ingenuouſly with you, *Philemon*, I do not believe the Introduction of *falſe Religion* was near ſo early as it has been ſometimes repreſented; or that indeed there was any ſuch Thing in Being within the ſixteen hundred Years of the Antediluvian World. I am ſenſible, if I was diſpoſed to pay any great Deference to a Fragment of *Phœnician* Hiſtory, the Credit of which has been ſo zealouſly aſſerted by a great Writer of *Epiſcopal* Dignity in our own Country; I could fix the Date of *falſe Worſhip* very high even in that Period. For the immediate ſecond Generation of our Kind is ſaid in this Account to have been guilty *in a Time of Drought* of direct Idolatry to the Sun *. And our learned Voucher for the *Phœnician*'s Authority in the point, ſuppoſes *Cain* to have been ſo effectually confirm'd in this idolatrous Diſpoſition, before the time of that firſt Inſtance of external Devotion in the World, which our ſacred Hiſtory has recorded,

* This is reported of *Genus*, the Son of *Protogonus*, in *Sanchoniatho*, whom the Biſhop makes to be *Cain*, the Son of *Adam*.

recorded, the Sacrifice of the two *original Brothers*; that the ſecret Apoſtacy of his Heart from the orthodox Belief of his Family, was the true Ground of that ſignified Diſapprobation of his Offering, which in the Event proved ſo fatal to his Fellow-worſhipper. He was, it ſeems, an Infidel of the true *modiſh modern* Stamp; who in his Heart laughed at thoſe weak Superſtitions, which in his Practice he thought it prudent to comply with. Is not this, think you, a very extraordinary Piece of Refinement for that Age of primitive Simplicity?

He was a Genius of the higher Order, (ſaid I) I ſuppoſe; and of a much forwarder Apprehenſion of Things, than his more pious and orthodox Relative; and by a deeper Penetration of Thought, ſaw quickly thro' the Weakneſs of his *nurſery Prejudices*; and the Fallacy of the *popular Syſtem* of his Time. I wonder, conſidering how ſtrong an Inſtance he might be made of the *Hazard* of *Free-thinking*; and the dark Stain that is fixed by the ſacred Hiſtorian upon his *ſubſequent moral* Character; we have not ſeen him produced in this View by the warmer Advocates for *Syſtem* in the World, to the Terror and Reproach of his Followers in *later* Ages; who to the unpardonable ſcandal and diſquiet of theſe good Men,

Men, have presumed to dissent from certain prescribed Opinions of the *easiest* Digestion, and most *unquestionable* Evidence, under the *shameless* Pretence of thinking for themselves.

When *false Religion* (resumed *Hortensius*) had thus early got footing in the World, it soon, you will imagine, found Means to inlarge its malignant Empire; for the great *Luminary* of Heaven, the Sun, being once exalted into the Character of *supreme Lord of it*, by this second Generation of Mankind; there succeeded only two more complete ones, before a new Species of Idolatry was introduced, the Worship of *Fire*, and a *Wind*, or *Tempest*, that had occasioned the accidental breaking out of it. The Celebration of which, we are told, was performed by setting up *Pillars*, or rather rude unwrought Stones, to the honor of the novel Deities; and paying a *religious Homage*, accompanied with *sanguinary Libations*, at these their Altars *. This happened in the *fifth* Age of the World; and was thought such a Refinement, we may suppose, upon the Idolatry of the preceding ones, that the Survivers of these *Elementary-Hierophants* complimented them after their decease, with some of the Honors of their own devising; in a grateful return for the Benefits

* Cumb. Sanch. *p.* 236.

Benefits of their new Inſtitution: conſecrating to them *Poſts* and *Pillars*, after the example of thoſe they had themſelves erected to the two natural Deities; and celebrating *anniverſary Feſtivals* to their Memory *. And now the Idol-Intereſt was conſiderably advancing: For *Chryſor*, or *Vulcan*, who lived, in this Account, in the next Age but one, having invented *Iron*, and the uſe of the Forge, with ſome other Accommodations of Life, was, after his death, admitted by the Men of the immediate ſucceeding Generation to the Honors of a more *explicite Religion*, and *direct Apotheoſis* †. A Degree of Guilt, ſays our above-cited Commentator on the Fragment, which even this *wicked Brood*, of *Cainite* Extraction, " fell " not into till the eighth Generation; till " more than a thouſand Years had harden'd " them; and divine Vengeance in the De- " luge was drawing near in the next Gene- " ration but one." *A Judgment againſt the firſt Deifiers of Men*, which he thinks *worthy to be remark'd* ‡. So important an Inſtance of the Corruption of the *Antediluvian* World has our inſpired Hiſtory of this Period altogether paſſed over in ſilence; and

F left

* Τουτων δε τελευσαντων, τους απολειφθεντας, φησι, ραβδους αυτοις αφιερωσαι, και τας ςηλας προσκυνειν, και τουτοις ἑορτας αγειν κατ' ετος. Ubi ſup.

† Ὡς θεων αυτων εσεβασθησαν. Ubi ſup.

‡ Cumb. Sanch. *p.* 245.

left to be aſcertained to us by a *Phœnician* Supplement; of an Age, doubtful indeed, but, paſt controverſy, much *inferior to its own* *: of which moreover the original *Authorities* are more to be ſuſpected than the Age; and the *genuine* Conveyance, thro' the Hands of a right-reverend Father, from thoſe of a very *late* Pagan Tranſlator †, more juſtly queſtionable ſtill than either.

One need not (interpoſed I) go any farther, I think, for a full Juſtification of the divine *Nemeſis* in the Deſtruction of the primitive World by the Flood, ſuppoſing the Fact to have been as it is uſually apprehended; than to that incorrigible Depravity, and infamous Corruption of Manners in thoſe early Days; which the *ſacred Hiſtorian* points out to us, as its immediate Provocation, Violence ‡, Iniquity, profligate and unparallel'd

* Auctor Vetuſtiſſimus, ſays the learned *Marſham*, of *Sanchoniatho*, ſed Tyri condita, Trojaniſque Temporibus longe Inferior. Can. Chron. *p.* 234. *Bochart* gives this Character of him—Nomen, aut Cognomen, inde ſortitus, ex quo animam ad ſcribendum appulit, hoc ipſo ſignificabat ſe veritatis eſſe aſſeclam, et exquiſitioris doctrinæ curioſum indagatorem; quod utinam tam re præſtitiſſet, quam nomine profitebatur. Canaan lib. 2. cap. 17.

† *Philo Biblius*, in the time of *Adrian*.

‡ We have it reported of *Seth*'s Family, that in the days of *Enos* his Son, in diſtinction from the *Cainites*, they called themſelves by the name of the Sons

rallel'd Debauch, the reigning Characteriſtics, as it appears, of the more advanced Antediluvian Age; if they had not drawn down the Severity of a *ſupernaturally* interpoſing Vengeance, to the *extinction* of the abandoned Race; muſt in the *natural* Tendency of the Things themſelves have ſoon accompliſhed the *univerſal Miſery* of it. A Deluge might, for aught I know, be a very deſirable Reſcue

 from

Sons of God, *Gen.* 4, 26. So *Aquila*'s Verſion renders the Place. Τοτε ηρχθη του καλειν ευ ονοματι Κυριου. And the marginal reading in our Bibles is agreable hereto. This Paſſage, however, has been ſometimes quoted in proof, that the very worſt ſort of Idolatry, the human Apotheoſis, began as early as the days of *Enos*. But this Notion is intirely built upon a wrong Senſe of the Words in the original. The motive to the Diſtinction here aſſumed in *Seth*'s Line was not, ſo far as appears, the Idolatry of the *Cainites*, but their ill Lives. *Cain* himſelf was of a violent and reſentful Diſpoſition, and his Family ſeem, many of them, to have been of a like Temper and Complexion. For we read, *there were Giants*, or, as *Le Clerc* underſtands the *Hebrew* Word, *Nephelim*, Robbers, or Men of Violence, in the Earth in thoſe days. Such as afterwards by the mixture of *Seth*'s Family with *Cain*'s, the whole Earth, except *Noah*'s Family, was become, *Gen.* 6. 11. This, with the ſevere Law againſt Murder to *Noah* after the Flood, makes it probable that Violence was the reigning Vice of the Antediluvian World. And whereas in the permiſſion of Animal Food, care is taken to forbid the eating of Blood; *Gen.* 9. 3, 4, 5. poſſibly, the ὠμοφαγια, or feeding upon raw Fleſh with the Blood in it, might have been practiſed before the Flood; and helped to ſharpen the Spirits of Men in earlier Days.

from the more dreadful Overflowings of ſuch increaſing Wickedneſs. It might be even a kind Interpoſition in ſuch Circumſtances, to *diſpeople* a World of Beings ſo reſolute in their own undoing; and by a deciſive Stroke of inſtant Ruin to prevent the lengthen'd Pains of a more gradual Execution. But ſo it ſhould ſeem (*Hortenſius*) in our Author's account, that theſe Enormities in *Antediluvian Practice* were not fully ripe for Puniſhment, without the *finiſhing* Aggravation of a confirmed *ſpeculative Miſ-belief*. Nor is it indeed any new Doctrine in *Syſtematic Theology*, " That Errors in point of " Opinion, are of a more heighten'd Guilt, " than any Failures in Conduct." The *condemning Quality* is by many of our Divines ſo *emphatically* aſcribed to an *erroneous Faith*, that one would think *there were no Condemnation* to a *corrupt Morality*. And truly, if the *final* Diſtributions of Heaven were at all to be eſtimated from the *temporary* ones of ſome who boaſt themſelves its commiſſion'd *Embaſſadors*, a Man would run far leſs riſque of his Salvation, who ſhould break even the plaineſt of the Commandments; than ſcruple the moſt *intricate Nicety* of an authoritatively impoſed Creed, merely becauſe he had not an Underſtanding to make either *Scripture* or *Senſe* of it.

One would have hoped, however (proceeded *Hortenſius*) that the memory of ſo ſignal an Interpoſition of Heaven againſt the firſt *Deifiers of Men*, ſhould have given an effectual Check to the Practice for ſome conſiderable Time in the ſucceeding World. At leaſt, that the choſen Family of *Noah*, who were themſelves Eye-witneſſes to the Fact, and owed it to an eſpecial Providence on their behalf, that they ſurvived the general Ruin; ſhould have been too ſenſibly convinced of the fatal Conſequences of it in the preceeding Generations, to have ventured ſetting the example of it to After-Times. The Event however was, as we are told, quite different. For they were no ſooner almoſt preſerved from the common Fate, to be the *Seed* of a renewed World, but they became likewiſe the Seed of a renewed Idolatry. For *Cronus*, or *Ham*, one of the immediate Progeny of *Noah*, who had been partaker with him in the affecting Providence of the *Ark*, after a Series of many other Violences to his Family, having at length arrived to the complete Infamy of moſt unnatural *Parricide*, had ſcarce accompliſhed the ſavage Purpoſe of his Father's *Murder*, but he proceeded to the impious Ceremony of his *Apotheoſis*. He deify'd him, we are told, upon the *very*

Spot

Spot where he had diſpatched him *. And to eſtabliſh the credit of that Divinity he had raiſed him to, as well as to provide for his own perſonal Advancement to the ſame Honors after death, he contrived to charge him with a Peſtilence that ſoon after raged in his Kingdom; and to appeaſe this pretended *puniſhing Dæmon* †, the Author of the then inſtant Calamity, poured out the Blood of *his only Son* in Sacrifice to the *Manes* of his murdered Parent ‡: To ſuch an height of ſavage Impiety was this immediate

* Ουρανον τον πατερα λαβων (Κρονος) επιχειριον εκ τεμνει αυτου τα αιδοια συνεγγυς πηγων τε και ποταμων· ενθα αφιερωθη ουρανος, και απηρτισθη αυτου το πνευμα· Euſeb. præp. *p.* 38. ενθα αφιερωθη, ſays Biſhop *Cumberland*, " He was conſecrated forthwith, " upon that very ſpot of ground. *Cronus* was of his " mind, who ſaid, ſit Divus, modo ne ſit vivus. He knew it would be honourable to himſelf to be believ'd the Son of a Deity; and that it might make way to his own Conſecration when he ſhould die. And when he had thus deified him, nothing could fix his conſecration more, than that his Son, now a great Prince, ſhould ſacrifice to him. Cumb. Sanch. *p.* 146.

† Τιμωρος Δαιμων, ſo Ουρανος is here conſidered by *Porphyry* in *Euſeb.* Book I. *p.* 40.

‡ Λοιμου δε γενομενου και φθορας, τον εαυτου υιον μονογενη Κρονος Ουρανω πατρι ολοκαρποι. Euſeb. præp. lib. 1. *p.* 38. So confirmed an Idolater indeed was *Cronus*, in our Author's Account, that the End of his Deification of Ουρανος, or *Noah*, was, we are told, to make Poſterity believe *Noah* approved of Dæmon-Worſhip himſelf; and by that means blot out the remembrance of his Piety. Cumb. Sanch. *p.* 147.

diate Spectator of a ſo late delug'd World, for Crimes of the very *ſame* complexion with his own, already arrived! But, it ſeems, however he had eſcaped the penalty of *Antediluvian* Corruption, he had been a conſiderable Sharer in the guilt of it. For he not only himſelf gave into many *ſuperſtitious*, *magical*, and *aſtrologic* Practices *before* the Flood; but plotted the ſucceſsful propagation of them *after* it. " He was unwilling, " we are told by ſome Writers, that Poſte- " rity ſhould loſe the Benefit of Antedilu- " vian Ingenuity, in theſe kinds; and ac- " cordingly as the Deluge approached, ha- " ving formed a Syſtem of what Knowledge " himſelf was maſter of this way, he " inſcribed it on Plates of different Metals, " and the hardeſt Stones he could meet with " for the purpoſe. And knowing there " would be no admiſſion for Doctrines of " this ſort *into* the *Ark*, he repoſited theſe " valuable Inſtitutes in the ſafeſt Places he " could think of *out* of it; and when the " Flood was over, went in ſearch of them " with the diligence ſo important a Diſco- " very required; till having fortunately got " them again into his poſſeſſion, he from " henceforward profeſſed a Maſterſhip in " his Art; and diſtinguiſhed himſelf as the " great *Magician* and *Aſtrologer* of the riſing

" Gene-

" Generation of Mankind *." An Author, *Philemon*, who could thus *ſurvive* the Ruins of an univerſal Deluge, might well be exempted from thoſe leſſer Injuries of Time, and *vulgar* Accidents, which have been ſo fatal to many Writers of a much inferior date. Nor are we, I think, to wonder, if after ſo ſignal an eſcape of this firſt Sketch of his *Antediluvian Magics*, ſucceeding *improved* Editions of the *ſame* Work ſhould be extant as late as the learned *Bochart*'s Age; who tells us of an *impious Treatiſe of the Elements and Praxis of Necromancy*, then in being, under the Title of, *The Scripture of* Cham *the Son of* Noah †.

THIS

* Quantum itaque antiquæ traditiones ferunt, *Cham* filius *Noe*, qui ſuperſtitionibus illis et ſacrilegis artibus Infectus fuit, ſciens nullum ſe poſſe ſuper his librum in Arcam prorſus inferre, in quam erat unâ cum patre juſto, ac ſanctis fratribus ingreſſurus; ſceleſtas artes, ac profana commenta diverſorum metallorum laminis, quæ ſcilicet non corrumperentur injuriâ, et duriſſimis lapidibus inſculpſit. Quæ, diluvio peracto, eâdem quâ illa celaverat curioſitate perquirens, ſacrilegiorum, et perpetuæ nequitiæ ſeminarium tranſmiſit in poſteros. Caſſian. Coll. 8. cap. 21. *Kirch.* Ob. Pam. lib. 1. p. 4. Dico igitur fieri non potuiſſe, ſays the laſt mention'd Author elſewhere, ut *Cham* peritiſſimus Aſtrologiæ, ac univerſæ naturæ conſultus, ad inſtantiam ſuorum filiorum *Chus*, et *Miſraim*, non aliqua ſcripſerit. Cum, ut per regulas et præcepta in magicâ arte operandi labili filiorum memoriæ conſuleret; tum, ut ad ſui nominis Famam, &c. Ob. Pam. cap. 2. p. 18. compare Oed. Æg. p. 84. alſo 245.

† Invaluit opinio *Chamum* fuiſſe Magum, et carmine

THIS was probably a *Copy* only of the Work (ſaid I) *Hortenſius*. I wonder what is become of the true *original* Manuſcript? Happy the Virtuoſo Antiquary, if any ſuch there be, who has the Poſſeſſion of ſo choice a piece of antique Literature! how effectually would it ſhame ſome valued Treaſures of Antiquarian Curioſity, mere *Novelties* in compariſon!

YOU are not, I think (returned *Hortenſius*) over fond of Domeſtic-Hiſtory, *Philemon*, or I could let you into the *true Secret* of this *Cronus*'s very early and ſingular Apoſtacy from the Religion of his Parents and Brethren. It was all owing to an unfortunate Alliance he had made by Marriage with a Branch of the *Cainite* Family. His Wife was of *idolatrous* extraction; being *Naamah*, the Daughter of *Lamech*, Siſter to *Tubal-Cain*. The ſame Perſon, whom *Plutarch* in his *Egyptian* Antiquities calls *Nemaus*, Queen of *Byblus* in *Phœnicia* *;

G who

mine magico patrem, dum dormiebat nudus, ita devotaſſe, et obligaſſe, ut deinceps ad mulierem non potuerit affectari; et magicos Libros ſcripſiſſe, nam hodieque extat impium opus, continens elementa et praxim artis necromanticæ, ſub titulo, ſcripturæ Chami, Filii Noæ. *Bochart.* Phaleg. lib. 4. cap. 1.

* If ſhe was one of *Ham*'s Wives, we may give a very probable reaſon for his falling into Idolatry, tho' his Father was ſo free from it. *Cumb.* Remarks on Sanch. *p.* 107—8.

who being the only *Female* mentioned by *Moſes* in his Genealogy of *Cain*'s Line *, muſt be conceived, it is conjectured, to be a Perſon of very diſtinguiſhed Conſequence †. Tho' methinks, her memory is not much *beholden* to the Civility of thoſe Writers, who, from this paſſing notice of it, traduce her as the inticer of her Husband into the baſeſt

* It has occaſioned much Speculation amongſt Commentators, what ſhould be the reaſon of *Moſes* his making ten Generations from *Adam* to the Flood, in *Seth*'s Line, and ſeven only in *Cain*'s. Saint *Auſtin*'s Obſervations on this Queſtion are very curious, and may ſerve to raiſe our Idea of Fatherly Interpretation of Scripture—Illud mihi nullo pacto prætereundum ſilentio videtur, quod cum *Lamech* ſeptimus ab *Adam* fuiſſet inventus, tot ejus annumerati ſunt filii, donec undenarius numerus impleretur, quo ſignificatur Peccatum. Quoniam Lux denario numero prædicatur, profecto numerus undenarius, quum tranſgreditur denarium, tranſgreſſionem legis ſignificat. Progenies ergo ex *Adam* per *Cain* ſceleratum numero undenario finitur, quo peccatum ſignificatur. Et ipſe numerus a *Fæminâ* clauditur; a quo ſexu initium factum eſt peccati, per quod omnes morimur. Commiſſum eſt autem, ut et voluptas carnis, quæ ſpiritui reſiſterit, ſequeretur. Nam et ipſa filia *Lamech*, *Noema*, id eſt, Voluptas, interpretatur. Per *Seth* autem ab *Adam* ad *Noe* denarius inſinuatur legitimus numerus. Cui *Noe* tres adjiciuntur filii: unde, uno lapſo, duo benedicuntur a patre; ut remoto reprobo, et probatis filiis ad numerum additis, etiam duodenarius numerus intimetur; qui et in Patriarcharum, et Apoſtolorum numero inſignis eſt, propter ſeptenarii partes, alteram per alteram multiplicatas. Nam ter quaterni, vel quater terni, ipſum faciunt. De Civ. Dei Lib. 15. cap. 21. ap. fin.

† See *Cumb.* as above.

baſeſt Idolatries; nor to others of a like *conjectural* Stamp, who gather from the ſame Circumſtance, that ſhe was herſelf the *original Subject* of an *Apotheoſis* the moſt *infamous* in all Paganiſm, the *Apotheoſis* of *luſtful Beauty* *. But whatever was the ground of *Ham*'s religious Misbehaviour *before* the Flood, the *Rabbinic* Authors are no very reputable Expoſitors of Scripture, if he was not under a fatal *Devotion* to Offences of this ſort *after* it. For ſuch, it ſeems, is in their opinion the import of that Denunciation which his indecent Levity extorted from his affronted Parent, upon an occaſion well known, againſt himſelf and his Progeny; "That they ſhould not only be in "Slavery to their collateral Kindred; but to "a Dominion of a more debaſing and op-"probrious kind, the *Tyranny* of the moſt "execrable Superſtition †."

* *Noema*, Filia *Lamechi*, *Moſi* memorata præter morem Scripturæ, quæ non ſolet in genealogiis referre fæminas. Alii, quia *Noema* venuſtum notat, eo arbitrantur eſſe *Venerem* Gentium. Tantam enim venuſtatem fuiſſe unius *Naama* prædicant, ut duo Angeli Dei, *Aza*, et *Azael*, ejus formâ capti, concubuerint; et ex ea Dæmones genuerint, qui *Sedim* appellantur. Alii *Adamum* ipſum, illis centum et triginta annis quibus ab *Evâ* fuit ſeparatus, fuiſſe cum *Naama*. Voſſ. de Orig. Idol. lib. 1. cap 17.

† *Gen.* 25. *Et vidit Cham pater Chanaan verenda patris ſui*; *Gen.* 9. 22. To which *Rabbi Raſſi* adds, it was believed, quod caſtraverit ipſum, et concubuerit

I HOPE (ſaid I) our venerable Anceſtor ſpoke here by a *prophetic* Spirit, declaring what in the natural courſe of things *would* come to paſs in this Branch of his Poſterity; and not intimating any diſpoſition of his own what *ſhould*. Otherwiſe his Anathema ſeems much too *ſevere* for the provocation that drew it from him; nor could he, I think, have well recovered his *Temperance*, when he uttered ſo mercileſs an Imprecation.

FOR the credit of his ſobriety, *Philemon*, (replied he) I dare ſay the good Man, neither in *Prophecy*, nor *Reſentment*, had any Thought of what he is here charged with. The Denunciation had quite another Aſpect, and was accompliſhed after a very different manner *. Nor was indeed the ſpiritual Slavery here underſtood at all peculiar to *Canaan*'s Poſterity; having, as it ſhould ſeem, equally prevailed within the Line of *Shem*, when

rit cam eo—Cuſii, ſays *Abenezra* on the Place, cultores fuere Idolorum, eo quod Noe *Chamo* maledixit—We muſt judge, ſays Biſhop *Cumberland*, that even this worſt part of Idolatry (human Sacrifice) was received and continued by *Ham* in *Canaan*, and *Egypt*, and the reſt of his Dominions. *Cumb.* Sanch. *p.* 147—8.

* *Noe Chamum* execratus prædixerat fore, ut ejus poſteri ſervi eſſent ſervorum. Atque id impletum in Chananæis tum, cum ſubire coacti ſunt Iſraelitarum jugum. *Bochart.* Phaleg. lib. 1. *p.* 3.

when a particular Family of that Line was diſtinguiſhed by a ſpecial Privilege in the Caſe; and ſeparated from its idolatrous Kindred by an immediate interpoſition of Heaven for that purpoſe. And thus, *Philemon*, by running over with you ſeveral imaginary Eſtabliſhments of Idolatry in the World, I have, I am afraid, inſenſibly brought down your Thoughts to the times of a real one. The particular Seat of it, I have in view, is the *Chaldean*, or ancient *Aſſyrian* Empire. From a City of which, *Ur of the Chaldees*, *Terah*, the Father of the Patriarch *Abraham*, ſome time before his death, which happened in the ſeventy-fifth Year of *Abraham*'s Age, removed with his Family to *Haran* in *Meſopotamia*; upon a diſſenſion from the *Urite* Eſtabliſhment in Religion *. What this was, may be probably conjectured from the *Alexandrian* Chronicle; which records of *Ninus* the Succeſſor of *Nimrod* in the *Aſſyrian* Empire, and who reigned 'till the ninth Year of *Abraham*'s Life, that he *taught the Aſſyrians to worſhip Fire* †. He introduced, I would underſtand the Chronicle, the Worſhip of *artificial Fire*, as a Symbol of the *Fires*, or *Lights of Heaven*; which, if the Origin of *Chaldean* Idolatry may be judged of from that of all other Nations, were, doubtleſs, as the nature of the

* Compare *Gen.* 11. 31, 32. 12. 4. with *Judith* 5. 7, 8.
† Chron. Alex. *p.* 64.

the thing ſeems to point out, the firſt Objects of a miſtaken Worſhip in the World. *Ninus*, we may imagine, thought to provide a remedy againſt the frequent abſences, and diſappearings of the heavenly Bodies, by appointing a *medium* of Adoration to them, which might be always at hand, and ready to receive the honours of thoſe primary Divinities. Or, poſſibly, ſome farther Innovation here in *Abraham*'s Time might occaſion the Rupture between his Family and their Fellow-Citizens. For it does not appear that *Terah*, or *Abraham*, were at this time adherers to the *true* Worſhip, tho' they are mentioned as Separatiſts from a particular mode of *falſe* *. Whatever was the ground of their Diſſenſion from the *Urite* Religion, the *Jewiſh* Authors inform us the quarrel in *Abraham*'s Caſe ran ſo high, that he had inevitably fallen a Martyr to his particular Scruple,

* Mr. *Locke* in his Comment on *Rom.* 4. 5.——τω δε μη εργαζομενω, πιστευοντι δε επι τον δικαιουντα τον ασεβη, λογιζεται ἡ πιστις εις δικαιοσυνην — obſerves, that by theſe Words Saint *Paul* plainly points out *Abraham*, who was, ασεβης, ungodly, that is, a Gentile, not a Worſhipper of the true God, when God called him, which he explains by the Word ασεβειαν, being uſed by the Apoſtle to expreſs the State of the Gentile World as to their Atheiſm, Polytheiſm, and Idolatry, at the Revelation of the Goſpel.——αποκαλυπτεται γαρ οργη θεου απ' ουρανου επι πασαν ασεβειαν ανθρωπων—*Rom.* 1. 18. See his Com. on the Places. As alſo, more at large on *Rom.* 5. *v.* 6 and 8.

Scruple, but that an eſpecial *Providence* interpoſed in his Reſcue. For the *Chaldeans*, it ſeems, were ſo reſolute in their demands of Conformity to their authorized national Religion, that *Fire-Worſhip*, or *Fire-Diſcipline* were the ſettled Alternatives with them; and the latter having been the Lot of our Patriarch, he had certainly periſhed in it, had not a Miracle been wrought for his deliverance. It was thought neceſſary he ſhould at leaſt feel the *Vengeance* of that Element, of which he would not acknowledge the Divinity *.

THE Element (I interpoſed) had ſome pretence for aſſerting its own *Apotheoſis*. But ſure the zeal of *later* Ages for eſtabliſhments of a *different* Genius greatly exceeds its bounds, when it catches the *red-hot* Spirit of theſe *Chaldean* Inquiſitors; and proceeds to the *Diſcipline* of Fire, without the previous Ceremony of its *Deification*.

WHAT-

* Pro eo quod legimus, in regione Chaldæorum, (εν τη χωρα των Χαλδαιων) in Hebræo habetur, Ur Chaſdim, id eſt, in igne Chaldæorum. Tradunt autem Hebræi ex hâc occaſione, iſtiuſmodi fabulam; quod Abraham in ignem miſſus ſit, quia ignem adorare noluerit, quem Chaldæi colunt, et dei auxilio liberatus, de Idololatriæ igne profugerit. Quod in ſequentibus ſcribitur, egreſſum eſſe *Tharan* cum ſobole ſua de regione Chaldæorum: pro eo, quod in Hebræo habetur, de incendio Chaldæorum: quod videlicet, ignem nolens adorare, igne conſumtus ſit. Vid. Hieron. Tradit. in *Gen.* 11. 28, 31.

WHATEVER was the particularity (reſumed *Hortenſius*) of the Patriarch's Religion at his departure from the City of his Nativity; a *farther* reform was, we find, thought neceſſary to be made in it, at ſome diſtance of Time from that period; when, by a ſpecial Deſignation from Heaven for the Purpoſe, he was to enter upon the illuſtrious Character vouchſafed to him in *Haran* of *Meſopotamia*; of being from thenceforward not only the Head or Father of a *great* and choſen *Nation*; that of the *Jews*, the immediate Deſcendents of *Abraham* after the Fleſh; but of a more honourable, however figurative Progeny; of *the Faithful* to the end of World *. About two Years after this very important Inſtitution, we find him driven by diſtreſs of a Famine in *Canaan*, the Country of his appointed Reſidence under it during that Interval, into *Egypt* †. The Scripture which records to us his having ſojourned there upon this occaſion, about the ſpace, as is con-

* *The Law*, according to St. *Paul*, *Gal.* 3. 17. *was* 430 *Years after* the Abrahamic *Covenant*. The Law was given A. M. 2513. counting back 430 Years from hence, we come to 2083, the 75th Year of *Abraham*'s Life; or the Year of his departure from *Haran*; at which time, according to *Rom.* 4. *v.* 5. as above, he was *juſtified by Faith*, being ασεβης, ungodly, or an idolatrous Gentile. Compare *Gal.* 3. 8. with *Gal.* 12. 2, 3.

† *Gen.* 12. 10.

conjectured, of three Months *, makes no mention of his having differed at all from the People of the Land in the matter of Religion. However ſcrupulous he had not long ſince been as to the *Urite* Ritual and Liturgy, we have no Intimation given us, but that he was now an intire Conformiſt to the *Egyptian*. Nor would he, 'tis conceived, have been ſo *well intreated* † of the *Pharaoh* in whoſe Dominions he took refuge, as we are informed he was, upon any other Terms. Unleſs indeed the Spirit of *Egyptian* Idolatry was far leſs bigotted than that of *Chaldean*; and that Zeal for national Ceremonies ſo powerful in *Egypt* in *later* Ages, had not as *yet* begun to operate. An Argument this, in the opinion of a very *conſiderable Writer* ‡, that the *Egyptians* were not at the time we are here ſpeaking of *materially*, if indeed in *any degree*, corrupted in their public Faith and Worſhip; ſince otherwiſe our Patriarch could neither have conformed to their Eſtabliſhments with innocence, nor yet in all appearance have diſſented from them; conſiſtently with the only motive of his Journey; the obtaining for himſelf and Houſehold that commodious Subſiſtence in a fo-

* *See* Marſham's Can. Chron. *p.* 72.

† *Gen.* 12. 16.

‡ Mr. *Shuckford*, Vol. I. of Con. Book IV. at large.

reign Land, which the inclemency of the Seaſon would not afford him in his own. Our *Author* concludes therefore, that the *Egyptians* were as yet adherents to the traditional Religion of *Noah*; and Worſhippers in common with their patriarchal Sojourner, of the *one true* God *.

THE Scripture (interrupted I) *Hortenſius*, is altogether ſilent in this matter. It neither determines one way, nor the other. From whence, conſidering the Genius of the *Moſaic* Hiſtory upon many parallel Occaſions, little, I ſhould imagine, can be concluded with certainty for either Side of the queſtion. There is one Circumſtance of the Relation to be conſidered, that ſeems, if any thing, rather to make againſt this *Gentleman*'s Concluſion; ſince it may poſſibly help us to account for the Patriarch's hoſpitable Reception at the *Egyptian Court*, even allowing him to have been ever ſo ſcrupulous a Separatiſt from the *eſtabliſhed Church*. He had with him, we are informed, a *fair Companion* of his Travels, whoſe Beauty ſoon drew upon her the Regards of the intriguing *Princes*, or great Officers, of *Pharaoh*'s Houſhold; and, upon a report of it from them to their Maſter, procured the admired Stranger an Admiſſion into his Palace, and an intire accommodation at

* See as above.

at the royal Expence *. In ſuch a ſituation ſhe muſt have been Miſtreſs of very little Addreſs, if ſhe could not obtain for herſelf and Family the privilege of a *Toleration* in a ſeparate Worſhip and Communion; and the liberty of a private Conſcience. Nor did the Patriarch, ſo far as appears, in the leaſt diſtruſt the Succeſs of ſo *powerful* an Apologiſt for his Religion; all his Care ſeems to have turn'd upon concealing the real nearneſs of her Relation to his Perſon. A Diſcovery of which, he conceived, might ſubject him to the hazards of Violence from a voluptuous People; and deprive him at the ſame time both of his Conſort and his Life; whereas under the diſſembled Character of a *Siſter*, inſtead of the genuine one of a *Wife*, he could ſecurely truſt her Vertue amidſt the *Intrigues* of a Court, nor riſque his own perſonal Safety amidſt the *Licence* of it †. When therefore we are acquainted by the ſacred Hiſtorian, that he was *well intreated* of *Pharaoh* for the *ſake* of his female counterfeited Correlative ‡, might not a *Toleration* of him in a foreign Worſhip be one inſtance of this kind Intreatment? And how then will it follow from *Abraham*'s being at this time a Servant of the true God, that the native *Egyptians* had

* *Gen.* 12. 14, 15, 16.
† *Gen.* 12. *v.* 11, 12, 13.
‡ *Gen.* 12. 16.

not before his days apoſtatized to the Service of falſe ones?

Tho' I have all imaginable regard (returned *Hortenſius*) to the Opinion of the very knowing Writer, whoſe Sentiments in this Matter I have been reporting to you; I do not indeed ſee but the Suppoſition of a Toleration is full as allowable in the Caſe of *Abraham*, as in that of *Joſeph*, a little more than two Centuries later in the *Egyptian* Hiſtory *, it appears unavoidable. For we have the Authority of the ſacred Text itſelf for thinking *Joſeph*, even in the height of his *Egyptian* Advancement; at a time when he not only *ſtood before Pharaoh*, but had enter'd into an Alliance by Marriage with a Family of the national Prieſthood †; to have yet been all the while of a different Religion from that of the Eſtabliſhment. For in the account given us of his entertaining his Stranger-Brethren, ſent by their Father to buy Corn in *Egypt*, in a general Failure of it in their own Land ‡; we are informed, the native *Egyptians*, who were of the Invitation, *might not eat Bread with the Hebrews*; but were accommodated under a ſeparate

* *Abraham* ſojourned in *Egypt* A. M. 2086. *Joſeph* was ſold into *Egypt* at 17 Years of Age, *Gen.* 37. 2, 28. A. M. 2267. in 13 Years after which, or at 30 Years of Age, *He ſtood before* Pharaoh, *Gen.* 41. 46. A. M. 2289.

† *Gen.* 41. *v.* 45, 46.

‡ *Gen.* 43. 1, 2.

ſeparate Oeconomy; the ſcrupulous Genius of their national Religion, even in theſe early days, admitting none to a common Table, who were not Partakers of a common Altar *. Our Author notwithſtanding is ſo far from thinking the *Egyptians* to have been actually corrupted in their Religion at the time of *Abraham*'s ſojourning amongſt them, that he makes the Patriarch himſelf to have been innocently the *occaſion* of their firſt becoming ſo not long afterwards. This, in his account, was brought about by the artifice of *Suphis*, a Prince of *Memphis*; the tenth in that Government from *Menes*, or *Miſraim*, its Founder; who came to the Crown about nine Years before the death of *Abraham*; and above fourſcore after his departure from *Egypt* †. The Reputation of our Patriarch for particular Revelations, and a more diſtinguiſhed Intercourſe with Heaven, was at this time, it is ſuppoſed, exceeding high with the *Egyptians*. And gave *Suphis* an opportunity to innovate in the Sacra of his Country under the Patronage of ſo reverenced an Example. He pretended therefore, in affectation of the patriarchal Fame and Character, to be himſelf a Θεοπτης; favour'd with a more

* *Gen.* 43. 32.

† *Abraham* ſojourned in *Egypt* A. M. 2086. *Suphis* began his Reign A.M. 2174. or An. Æræ Theb. 293. 88 Years after *Abraham*'s being in *Egypt*. *Abraham* died in 2183, the ninth Year of *Suphis* at *Memphis*.

not before his days apoſtatized to the Service of falſe ones?

Tho' I have all imaginable regard (returned *Hortenſius*) to the Opinion of the very knowing Writer, whoſe Sentiments in this Matter I have been reporting to you; I do not indeed ſee but the Suppoſition of a Toleration is full as allowable in the Caſe of *Abraham*, as in that of *Joſeph*, a little more than two Centuries later in the *Egyptian* Hiſtory *, it appears unavoidable. For we have the Authority of the ſacred Text itſelf for thinking *Joſeph*, even in the height of his *Egyptian* Advancement; at a time when he not only *ſtood before Pharaoh*, but had enter'd into an Alliance by Marriage with a Family of the national Prieſthood †; to have yet been all the while of a different Religion from that of the Eſtabliſhment. For in the account given us of his entertaining his Stranger-Brethren, ſent by their Father to buy Corn in *Egypt*, in a general Failure of it in their own Land ‡; we are informed, the native *Egyptians*, who were of the Invitation, *might not eat Bread with the Hebrews*; but were accommodated under a ſeparate

* *Abraham* ſojourned in *Egypt* A. M. 2086. *Joſeph* was ſold into *Egypt* at 17 Years of Age, *Gen.* 37. 2, 28. A. M. 2267. in 13 Years after which, or at 30 Years of Age, *He ſtood before* Pharaoh, *Gen.* 41. 46. A. M. 2289.

† *Gen.* 41. *v.* 45, 46.

‡ *Gen.* 43. 1, 2.

ſeparate Oeconomy; the ſcrupulous Genius of their national Religion, even in theſe early days, admitting none to a common Table, who were not Partakers of a common Altar *. Our Author notwithſtanding is ſo far from thinking the *Egyptians* to have been actually corrupted in their Religion at the time of *Abraham*'s ſojourning amongſt them, that he makes the Patriarch himſelf to have been innocently the *occaſion* of their firſt becoming ſo not long afterwards. This, in his account, was brought about by the artifice of *Suphis*, a Prince of *Memphis*; the tenth in that Government from *Menes*, or *Miſraim*, its Founder; who came to the Crown about nine Years before the death of *Abraham*; and above fourſcore after his departure from *Egypt* †. The Reputation of our Patriarch for particular Revelations, and a more diſtinguiſhed Intercourſe with Heaven, was at this time, it is ſuppoſed, exceeding high with the *Egyptians*. And gave *Suphis* an opportunity to innovate in the Sacra of his Country under the Patronage of ſo reverenced an Example. He pretended therefore, in affectation of the patriarchal Fame and Character, to be himſelf a Θεοπτης; favour'd with a more

* *Gen.* 43. 32.

† *Abraham* ſojourned in *Egypt* A. M. 2086. *Suphis* began his Reign A.M. 2174. or An. Æræ Theb. 293. 88 Years after *Abraham*'s being in *Egypt*. *Abraham* died in 2183, the ninth Year of *Suphis* at *Memphis*.

more intimate acceſs to, and nearer aſpect of Divinity. Upon the credit of which, he ſoon contrived to overturn the hitherto *traditional* Belief and Worſhip of his Subjects; propagating in its ſtead a Syſtem of his own private Inſtitutions; and inſinuating himſelf by this means into the future ſupreme Direction of the publick Faith and Conſcience *.

THE Pretence, (ſaid I) *Hortenſius*, was doubtleſs a very good one for the Purpoſes of an intriguing Politician. But methinks I would not readily charge the *Abrahamic* Diſpenſation with the Odium of giving the firſt hint to ſo miſchievous an Artifice of Prieſtcraft. Beſides that had the Circumſtances of *Abraham*'s Life and Character at this time been ſo well known in *Egypt*, as this account ſeems to ſuppoſe; he muſt really have been a Politician of no ordinary Genius, who could wreſt *ſuch* an Example to the Purpoſes of a national Idolatry.

THE *Egyptians* (replied *Hortenſius*) might poſſibly have heard of the general Fame of *Abraham*'s Revelations, and yet not have been apprized of the particular Subject and Contents of them. A report thus popularly current, without being accurately examined, might lead *Suphis* into the conceit of this Fallacy, at the ſame time that it would

* See *Shuckford*'s Con. Vol. I. Book V. *p.* 319, and foll.

would not at all interfere either with the Intention, or the Succeſs of it. Abuſes of the beſt Things are, you know, often unavoidable in the natural courſe of human Liberty. Appointments the moſt uſeful in themſelves, and the moſt beneficially intended, are yet open to the groſſeſt Miſapplications by the perverſe, the falſely-intereſted, the diſingenuous. However, to deal fairly with you, *Philemon*, ſince I find you are ſcrupulous of making the Patriarch at all a Party in this Affair; I ſee not but we may well enough diſcharge him; and fix the blame, where perhaps it is only due, upon the enterprizing Spirit of the deſigning *Memphite*. His Θεοπτια, in this view, might poſſibly be nothing more than the boaſted Pretence of a more improved Speculation, and profounder Theory, in Subjects of Religion. The Subſtance of which, in the Opinion of an Author of firſt regard in the Antiquities of *Egypt*, was the projecting the famed *Symbolical Theology*, and *Emblem-Worſhip* of this Country *. An *Hypotheſis*, which he grounds upon a Paſſage in the Chronology of the Kings of *This*, anſwering to about the twentieth

* Sane ex hâc Regis (*Suphidis*) Θεοπτια nova in Ægypto Religionum ludibria excogitata ſunt; et ſacris tradita commentariis. Nam ex *Thinitarum* Synchroniſmo manifeſtum eſt, Bouum, Hircique αποθεωσιν eo ipſo tempore initium habuiſſe. *Marſham Can. Chron. p.* 54.

twenticth Year of *Suphis* at *Memphis*; " That in the Reign of *Ceachos*, the tenth " *Thinite* King, the *Apis* at *Memphis*, *Mnevis* " at *Heliopolis*, and the *Mendeſian* Goat, " were received into the number of the " *Egyptian* Gods *." A diſcernment in this Symbol-Science was ever, we know, eſteemed by the *Egyptians* a very high inſtance of ſacred Wiſdom †. And the diſcovery, or firſt inſtitution of it, if generally aſcribed to *Suphis*, would naturally intitle him to that honourable Diſtinction paid to his Memory in the *Memphite* Records; " That he " was a Prince eminent for a more particular " Inſight into the Natures of the Gods ‡." He left behind him, we are farther informed, *a ſacred Book*, or Treatiſe of divine Subjects; the Elements, we may ſuppoſe, of this *emblematic* Doctrine, and Animal-Apotheoſis ‖. Which, if it owed its birth to the Speculations of this *Memphite* Prince, might, before the Age of *Joſeph*'s Advancement in a neighbour Kingdom, near a Century below

* Sub hoc, *Apis* in *Memphi*, *Mnevis* in *Heliopoli*, et *Mendeſius* Caper Dii ſunt habiti. *Marſh.* Tab. artic. Ceach.

† Ὡσπερ εκ Φρονησεως και της αγαν θεοσοφιας επι πο σεβας ελθειν και των ζωων· Καν θαρον δε αμαθης βεβελυχθειη αν, αγνωμων ὑπαρχων των θειων· Αιγυπτιοι δε εσεφθησαν, ὡς εικονα ἡλιου εμψυχον. Porph. de Abſt. Lib. 4. Sect. 9.

‡ Ουτος περιοπλες εις θεους εγενετο. Syncell. Chron. p. 56.

‖ Ἱεραν συνεγραψε βιβλον. Ibid.

low the Times we are here ſpeaking of, have been ſufficiently ſpread, and improved upon in *Egypt*, to account fully for that religious Diſtinction in the accommodation of his *Egyptian* and *Hebrew* Gueſts, obſerved in his Entertainment above-mentioned *. Nor will the Province here aſſigned to the Refinements of *Suphis* appear, I think, at all unſuitable to his Genius and Character, when it is remembered, that he is delivered down to us in the Chronology of *Egypt*, as the reputed Founder of the celebrated *great Pyramid* †. An Edifice, whatever other Uſes it might be applied to, in its firſt Intention, there is great Reaſon to think, of the *Hieroglyphic* kind. The Figure of the *Pyramid* and *Obeliſk* in general being, we are aſſured, in the *Egyptian* manner of Expreſſion, emblematical of the *Nature and Properties of Fire* ‡; as was, I conceive, this

I *par-*

* *Joſeph ſtood before Pharaoh* A. M. 2289—*Suphis* died A. M. 2237, or 52 Years before *Joſeph*'s Advancement—*Suphis* reigned 63 Years; beginning to reign A. M. 2174, or according to *Marſham*'s Table, An. Ær. Theb. 293—The Worſhip of the *Apis*, &c. as above, ſtands recorded pretty early in *Suphis* his Reign; ſo that it came in, probably, near a Century before *Joſeph's ſtanding before Pharaoh*.

† Hic (*Suphis*) maximam erexit Pyramidem. Marſh. Can. Chron. *p.* 47.

‡ Πυραμιδας δε και οβελισκους τη πυρος ουσια (απενειμαν). Porph. ap Euſeb. Præp. Evang. *p.* 60. The *Egyptian* Obelisk at *Alexandria* had not a *Square* Baſe, like thoſe we ſee at *Rome*; but an Hemiſpherical

twentieth Year of *Suphis* at *Memphis*; " That in the Reign of *Ceachos*, the tenth " *Thinite* King, the *Apis* at *Memphis*, *Mnevis* " at *Heliopolis*, and the *Mendeſian* Goat, " were received into the number of the " *Egyptian* Gods *." A diſcernment in this Symbol-Science was ever, we know, eſteemed by the *Egyptians* a very high inſtance of ſacred Wiſdom †. And the diſcovery, or firſt inſtitution of it, if generally aſcribed to *Suphis*, would naturally intitle him to that honourable Diſtinction paid to his Memory in the *Memphite* Records; " That he " was a Prince eminent for a more particular " Inſight into the Natures of the Gods ‡." He left behind him, we are farther informed, *a ſacred Book*, or Treatiſe of divine Subjects; the Elements, we may ſuppoſe, of this *emblematic* Doctrine, and Animal-Apotheoſis ‖. Which, if it owed its birth to the Speculations of this *Memphite* Prince, might, before the Age of *Joſeph*'s Advancement in a neighbour Kingdom, near a Century below

* Sub hoc, *Apis* in *Memphi*, *Mnevis* in *Heliopoli*, et *Mendeſius* Caper Dii ſunt habiti. *Marſh.* Tab. artic. Ceach.

† Ὡσπερ εκ Φρονησεως και της αγαν θεοσοφιας επι πο σεβας ελθειν και των ζωων· Καν θαρον δε αμαθης βεδελυχθειη αν, αγνωμων ὑπαρχων των θειων· Αιγυπτιοι δε εσεφθησαν, ὡς εικονα ἡλιου εμψυχον. Porph. de Abſt. Lib. 4. Sect. 9.

‡ Ουτος περιοπλες εις θεους εγενετο. Syncell. Chron. p. 56.

‖ Ἱεραν συνεγραψε βιβλον. Ibid.

low the Times we are here ſpeaking of, have been ſufficiently ſpread, and improved upon in *Egypt*, to account fully for that religious Diſtinction in the accommodation of his *Egyptian* and *Hebrew* Gueſts, obſerved in his Entertainment above-mentioned *. Nor will the Province here aſſigned to the Refinements of *Suphis* appear, I think, at all unſuitable to his Genius and Character, when it is remembered, that he is delivered down to us in the Chronology of *Egypt*, as the reputed Founder of the celebrated *great Pyramid* †. An Edifice, whatever other Uſes it might be applied to, in its firſt Intention, there is great Reaſon to think, of the *Hieroglyphic* kind. The Figure of the *Pyramid* and *Obeliſk* in general being, we are aſſured, in the *Egyptian* manner of Expreſſion, emblematical of the *Nature and Properties of Fire* ‡; as was, I conceive, this

I *par-*

* *Joſeph ſtood before Pharaoh* A. M. 2289—*Suphis* died A. M. 2237, or 52 Years before *Joſeph*'s Advancement—*Suphis* reigned 63 Years; beginning to reign A. M. 2174, or according to *Marſham*'s Table, An. Ær. Theb. 293—The Worſhip of the *Apis*, &c. as above, ſtands recorded pretty early in *Suphis* his Reign; ſo that it came in, probably, near a Century before *Joſeph's ſtanding before Pharaoh*.

† Hic (*Suphis*) maximam erexit Pyramidem. Marſh. Can. Chron. *p.* 47.

‡ Πυραμιδας δε και οβελισκους τη πυρος ουσια (απενειμαν). Porph. ap Euſeb. Præp. Evang. *p.* 60. The *Egyptian* Obelisk at *Alexandria* had not a *Square* Baſe, like thoſe we ſee at *Rome*; but an Hemiſpherical

particular Structure, (what I have the pleaſure to find confirmed to me, by the Judgment of a late very learned and ingenious Traveller, who had examined it upon the ſpot) both deſigned for the *Repreſentation*, and dedicated to the *Idolatry*, of the *chief Fire* of the Syſtem, the Sun *. But, not

ſpherical one, that was received into a correſpondent Cavity in the Pedeſtal. It is certain, that theſe Pillars, by being thus rounded at the Bottom, would bear a nearer reſemblance to *Darts*, and *miſſive Weapons*, than if they were ſquare. And conſequently would be more *expreſſive* of the *Rays of the Sun*; which they were ſuppoſed to repreſent; as it was the Sun itſelf to which they were dedicated. *Shaw*'s Travels, or Obſervations, *&c.* *p.* 411. Trabes ex eo fecere Reges quodam certamine, Obeliſcos vocantes; ſolis numini ſacratos. Radiorum ejus Argumentum in Effigie eſt. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. 36. cap. 8.

* As the Pyramids, which are Obeliſks only in obtuſer Angles, were equally emblematical of Fire, ſo they may be conſidered under the ſame religious View, to have been no leſs conſecrated to the ſame Deity. *Shaw*'s Travels, as above——If *Cheops*, *Suphis*, or whoever was the Founder of the great Pyramid, intended it only for his Sepulchre, what Occaſion was there for ſuch a narrow crooked Entrance into it? For the Well, as it is called, at the end of the Entrance? For the lower Chamber, with a large Nitch or Hole in the eaſtern Wall of it? For the long narrow Cavities in the Wall of the upper Room? Or for the two Ante-Chambers, and the lofty Gallery, with Benches on each Side, that introduce us into it? As the whole of the *Egyptian* Theology was cloathed in myſterious Emblems and Figures, it ſeems reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that all theſe Turnings,

not to amuſe you any longer, *Philemon*, with Conjectures, either as to the Æra, or Authors of the *Ægyptian* Idolatry; it will be more to our Purpoſe to turn our Inquiry to the general *Theory*, *Genius*, and *Conſtitution* of it. Nor can we, I believe, here ſet out with a better Guide, than the knowing and inquiſitive *Sicilian*, *Diodorus*; who in the firſt Book of his general Hiſtory has repreſented to us the Sentiments of the earlier *Egyptians* upon the Matter of Religion, to effect, as follows—" The firſt Men, who " had their riſe in *Egypt*, true born Sons " of their Mother Earth, ſurveying the

 " State

Turnings, Apartments, and Secrets in Architecture, were intended for ſome nobler Purpoſe; (for the Catacombs are plain vaulted Chambers hewn out of the Rock) and that the Deity rather, who was *typified* in the *outward Form* of this Pile, was to be worſhipped *within*. The great Reverence and Regard which *Suphis*, one of the reputed Founders is ſaid to have paid to the Gods, will, perhaps, in the firſt Place, not a little favour ſuch a Suppoſition. Yet even if this at laſt ſhould not be granted, no Places certainly could have been more ingeniouſly contrived for the *Adyta*, that had ſo great a Share in the *Egyptian* Myſteries. *Shaw*'s Travels, *p.* 417, 418. And indeed I am apt to think, that there are few, who attentively conſider the outward Figure of theſe Piles; the Structure and Contrivance of the ſeveral Apartments in the inſide of the greateſt, together with the ample Proviſion that was made on each Side of it for the Reception, as may be ſuppoſed, of the Prieſts; but will conclude, that the *Egyptians* intended the latter for one of the Places, as all of them were to be the Objects at leaſt, of their Worſhip and Devotion. *Shaw*'s Travels, *p.* 420.

" State of the World about them, and con-
" templating, not without a ſecret Awe,
" and Reverence, the Contents of the won-
" derful Machine, concluded for the Divi-
" nity of the two moſt conſiderable, and
" commanding Appearances of it, the Sun,
" and Moon. Theſe, they conceived,
" were the great Principles of Life and Be-
" ing; the diſpenſing, and ſuſtaining Pow-
" ers of the intire Syſtem *." A Concluſion ſo natural to ſuch early and unexperienced Reaſoners as are here ſuppoſed, that you have been driven, you know, to the Hypotheſis of a Miracle to prevent their making it. But whatever was the effect of original Revelation in firſt eſtabliſhing a right Religion, ſubſequent Tradition was by no means ſufficient to perpetuate and maintain it in the World. For before the times we are now arrived at in the courſe of this Speculation, Mankind had almoſt univerſally broke their guard; and, as if wholly looſe and uncautioned in the point, were with very little exception, running as greedily into the Infatuation

* Τους δε ουν κατ' Αιγυπτον ανθρωπους το παλαιον γενομενους, αναβλεψαντας εις τον κοσμον, και την των ὁλων φυσιν καταπλαγεντας, και θαυμασαντας, ὑπολαβειν ειναι δυο θεους αιδιους τε και πρωτους, τοντε ἡλιον, και την σεληνην——τουτους δε τους θεους ὑφισανται τον συμπαντα κοσμον διοικειν, τρεφοντας και αυξοντας παντα· και δια τουτων παντα γενασθαι και τρεφισθαι· Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. I. *p.* 10, 11. Ed. Rhod.

ation of *Sabiiſm*, or the Idolatry of the bright Hoſt of Heaven; as if in the infant Simplicity, and ignorant Admiration of a riſing World, they were now firſt opening their Eyes upon the affecting Spectacle. The *Egyptians*, we may conceive, were the more eaſily ſeduced to the *Worſhip* of the heavenly Bodies, as by the nature of their Climate, and circumſtances of their Situation, they ſeem to have enjoyed a more uninterrupted and advantageous *Diſplay* of them, than their neighbour Nations *. They led moreover in earlier Times, for the moſt part, 'tis probable, a rural and much expoſed Life. And, in the imperfection of their Aſtronomy, having for many Centuries no true meaſure of a ſolar Year †, were obliged to

* Ægyptii in camporum patentium æquoribus habitantes, cum ex terrâ nihil emineret quod contemplationi cæli officere poſſet omnem curam in ſiderum cognitione poſuerunt. Cic. de Div. lib. 1. cap. 41. Ed. Davies——Nam, ut recte de his (Ægyptiis) Lactantius Firmianus, cum cælo fruerentur ſereno, otio ad hæc, et deliciis, quibus univerſa Ægyptiorum Tellus ſcatebat, torpeſcerent, decoram cæli faciem, cum reliquo ſtellarum ordinatiſſimo exercitu conſiderantes, &c. Kirch. Ob. Pamph. *p.* 157— Οιδε Θηβαιοι φασιν εαυτους αρχαιοτατους ειναι παντων ανθρωπων και παρ' αυτοις πρωτοις φιλοσοφιαν τε ευρησθαι, και την επ' ακριβες αστρολογιαν, αμα και της χωρας αυτοις συνεργουσης προς το τηλαυγες ερον ὁρᾶν τας επιτολας τε και δυσεις των αστρων· Diod. Sic. Bib. lib. 1. *p.* 46.

† The *Egyptians* aſcribe the correction of their Year to *Mercury*. Ανατιθεασι δε τω Ἑρμη πασαν

την

to eſtimate the Returns of their Seaſons, and adjuſt the varying expediences of Husbandry and

την τοιαυτην σοφιαν. Strab. Geog. lib. 17. *p.* 816. This *Mercury* was undoubtedly *Siphoas*, thirty-fifth King of *Egyptian Thebes*; who, from parallel Circumſtances in his Hiſtory and Character to thoſe of *Taautus*, *Thoth*, or *Mercury* the Son of *Menes*, or *Miſraim*, obtained this Name. *Syncellus* records the Addition of the five Days to have been made to the *Egyptian* Year by *Aſſis*, ſixth King of *Tanis*, or the lower *Egypt*. Ουτος προσεθηκε των ενιαυτων τας πεντε επαγομενας, και επι αυτου, ὡς φασιν, εχρηματισεν τριακοσιων ἑξηκοντα πεντε ἡμερων ὁ Αιγυπτιακος ενιαυτος· Τριακοσιων ἑξηκοντα μονων ἡμερων προ τουτου μετρουμενος. Chron. *p.* 125. But this *Aſſis* being one of the Paſtor Kings, who were, in *Joſephus* his account, ανθρωποι το γενος ασημοι, an obſcure ignoble Race; Sir *John Marſham* very reaſonably conjectures, that *Syncellus*, in remarking, as above, to this King's Name, means only to fix the Correction of the Year to the *Time*, not to the *Perſon* of *Aſſis*. Which agrees very well with what has been already ſaid of its being really introduced by *Siphoas*, or the ſecond *Mercury*—Chronologiæ noſtræ competit id quod *Georgius Syncellus* Sexto Tanitarum Regi ſubjicit. Ουτος προσεθηκε κ.τ.λ. In poſtrema hujus Regis tempora initia Mercurii incidunt; ita ut huic ille ſit ſatis æqualis. Can. Chron. *p.* 235. The five Days then were added in the 34th Year of *Aſſis*, the ſixth Paſtor King of the lower *Egypt*. The moſt probable Time of the Irruption of the Paſtors is the Year of the World 2420. About 209 Years from hence by Sir *John Marſham*'s Table began the Reign of *Aſſis*. Whoſe 34th Year is therefore the 243d from the Paſtor Invaſion; or the Year of the World 2663. This was 720 Years from the Time of *Menes* his Death, who firſt peopled *Egypt*, and founded the *Theban* Government. And in about 15 Years from hence, began *Siphoas* to reign at *Thebes*.

So

and Agriculture, by looking conſtantly up to theſe fair Deceivers; and remarking, as accu-

So that the Correction might very eaſily belong to him. *Siphoas* began to reign near a Century after *Joſhua*'s death; who died in 2578. The *Egyptian* Year was not corrected 'till above fourſcore Years after the death of *Joſhua*. 'Tis remarkable that *Herodotus* ſpeaking of the corrected Meaſure of the *Egyptian* Year, mentions only an Addition of five Days, to the number 360, without any Intimation of a quarter Part of a Day more being to be added to the reckoning; whereas *Diodorus*, and *Strabo* both mention the ſix Hours; which ſhews they were a later Improvement than the five Days. Αιγυπτιοι δε τριηκοντημερους αγοντες τους δωδεκα μηνας επαγουσι αναπαν ετος πεντε ἡμερας παρεξ του αριθμου· Herod. lib. 2. cap. 4. and indeed the Fable in *Plutarch*, which relates to this Matter, ſuppoſes *five Days* the exact *ſeventy-ſecond* Part of the Year; as it is of 365 Days, without the quarter of a Day over. Λεγεται δε ὁ μυθος ὁυτος εν βραχυτατοις, ὡς ενεστι, μαλιστα· Της Ρηας, φασι, κρυφα τῳ Κρονῳ συγγενομενης, αισθομενου επαρασθαι του ἡλιου αυτη μητε μηνι μητε ενιαυτῳ τεκειν. Ερωντα δε του Ἑρμην της θεου συνελθειν. Ειτα παιξαντα πεπτια προς την σεληνην, και αφελοντα των φωτων εκαστου το ἑβδομηκοστον, εκ παντων ἡμερας πεντε συνελθειν, και ταις ἑξηκοντα και τριακοσιοις επαγειν, ἁς νυν επαγομενας Αιγυπτιοι καλουσι· Plut. de Iſide, et Oſiride, *p.* 355. Ed. Xyl. 'Tis probable ſome general Report of the *Egyptians* having corrected their Year prevailed in *Greece*, before the true State of the Fact came to be known there, by means of *Thales* his intercourſe with the *Egyptian* Prieſts; as we learn from *Diogenes Laertius*. Τας τε ὡρας του ενιαυτου, φασιν, αυτον ευρειν, και εις τριακοσιας ἑξηκοντα πεντε ἡμερας διελειν· Ουδεις τε αυτου καθηγησατο, πλην οτ' εις Αιγυπτον ελθων τοις ἱερευσι συνδιετριψεν. Diog. Laert. lib. 1. *p.* 7.

in

accurately as they could, the diverſified particularities of their Relations and Aſpects *. This

in Thalete.——For *Herodotus* repreſents *Solon* a contemporary with *Thales*, in a Conference with *Cræſus*, to have conſidered the true ſolar Year as conſiſting of 375 Days. For he ſays it was neceſſary to intercalate every other Year a whole Month, or 30 Days. Conſequently the common Reckoning of 360 Days muſt have been 15 inſtead of 5 Days, ſhort of Truth. *Solon*, it ſhould ſeem, was aware the common Reckoning was wrong; but was not Maſter of the preciſe Reformation required in it. The Converſation is very remarkable. In the Concluſion of it *Solon* reckons up to *Cræſus* the ſum of Days in ſeventy Years to be 26250, which is at the rate of 375 Days to each Year. The Computation is made by way of anſwer to *Cræſus* his very haſty and reſentful Expoſtulation with the Sage upon his ſeeming to have but a degrading Opinion of *Cræſus* his Happineſs. Ω ξεινε Αθηναιε, ἡ δε ἡμετερη ευδαιμονιη ουτω τοι απεριπται ες το μηδεν, ὡς-ε ουδε ιδιωτεων ανδρων αξιους ἡμερας εποιησας; upon which *Solon* lays before him the Meaſure in Days of human Life at an Eſtimate of ſeventy Years—— τουτον των ὰπασεων ἡμερων τών ες τα εβδομηκοντα ετεα εουσεων πεντηκοντα και διηκοσιων και εξακισχιλιων και δισμυριων, ἡ ἑτερη αυτεων τη ἑτερη ἡμερη το παραπαν ουδεν ὁμοιον ωροσαγει πρηγμα· In which length of time, and variety of Events, 'tis impoſſible, he concludes, to determine rightly upon the Subject of a Man's Happineſs, 'till the whole date is run out. Herod. lib. 1. cap. 32. Ed. Steph.

* Cum veterum annus parum cum motu ſolis apparente congruebat, ex dato die menſis quo factum aliquod notabant non ſtatim exinde patebat quâ anni tempeſtate illud evenit. Igitur quando Agricolæ in Re Ruſtica aliquod faciendum in ſtato tempore præcipiebant, tempus illud non per diem Kalendarii civilis indicabant; quippe eadem dies menſis non ſemper

quolibet

This gave them high impreſſions of the Dignity of theſe Objects in the mundane Conſtitution; and their importance to the Oeconomy of Life. Which would be ſtill increaſed, by obſerving as to the principal of them in particular, the Sun, how intirely the regular, proſperous, and flouriſhing Eſtate of all inferior Nature ſeemed to depend upon his diſpenſing Authority, and genial Influence. How the unnumber'd varieties of vegetative Being, the ſeveral Species of Herbs, Grain, Plants, Flowers, Trees, and Fruits; at once the Ornaments of the Earth's *own Form*, and Support of *thoſe* of its animated Inhabitants; were the effects of his prolific Virtue, and ſecret Operation, upon the differing *contents* of her internal Subſtance. That the whole Scenery of the Univerſe——But I forbear, *Philemon*, conſidering that you have been before-hand with me upon this Argument; and have made any thing I could ſay here as comparatively weak and degrading; as it is fortunately at the ſame time made ſuperfluous and unneceſſary.

I WOULD very gladly (returned I) *Hortenſius*, exchange your Compliment for your Deſcription. Tho', to ſay the truth, by

quolibet anno in eodem anni tempore incidebat. Sed certioribus opus fuit Characteribus ad tempora diſtinguenda. Itaque Agricolæ tempora per ortus et occaſus ſtellarum diſtinguebant. *Keil.* Aſtron. *p.* 264.

the ſlight hint you have here given, you have recalled to my thoughts an Image, which muſt have pleaded ſo ſtrongly with our *Egyptian* Ruraliſts for a *direct*, and *unqualified* Adoration of the ſolar Orb; as in great meaſure to preclude the Apology I was thinking to have made for their firſt addreſſes to it of a religious kind; by ſuggeſting, that poſſibly nothing more might be intended by them, than the Worſhip of the *tranſcendent* Majeſty of the inviſible Creator, under the *Symbol* of his moſt *excellent*, and ſeemingly neareſt reſembling Creature. They might the readier err this way, if they had yet ſubſiſting amongſt them ſome *imperfect* Tradition of the *divine* Being's having vouchſafed to converſe with, and inſtruct the Men of elder Times, by an *Angel*, a *Glory*, ſome viſible *Exhibition* of his more diſtinguiſhed Preſence. A manner of Communication, which the ſacred Accounts ſeem, I think, to ſuppoſe; and which might be very ſuitable to the Condition of the more early Ages, however generally diſcontinued in ſucceeding ones. I pretend not, with ſome modern Viſionaries, to aſſert any thing of the *preciſe* Form of theſe Appearances; or to enter into a diſquiſition of the Nature, and myſtical Intendments, of the *Paradiſiacal Cherubim* *.

The

* See a very ingenious Treatiſe upon the Principles of

The Fact in general is all I am concerned for. Of which, if Mankind, the bulk of them, had now by degrees, either thro' negligence, or diſperſions, loſt all correct Accounts; retaining ſtill a *confuſed* Tradition of Manifeſtations of *Divinity* made to their Fore-fathers *under*, and Worſhip practiſed by them *towards*, a *ſenſible* Preſence; might not this lead them into an opinion of the lawfulneſs and expediency of religious *Symbols* in general? Of having before their Eyes ſome viſible Object of Adoration; ſomething to ſtrike the Attention, and ingage the Senſe of the devout Worſhipper? Now this Point once fixed, nothing in Nature ſurely ſo proper for the *Purpoſe*, ſo every way worthy of the *Diſtinction* required; as the ſignificant Luminaries of Heaven: The two *greater Lights* of it in particular; in ſome Views of which, the moſt *chaſtiſed* Philoſophy of theſe *colder* northern Climes, can ſcarce forbear breaking out into unhallowed Reverence. Conſecrated thus ſpeciouſly to the Imagery and Repreſentation of their Maker, they ſoon, no doubt, became the Rivals of his Honours; and by a gradation as natural, as it has been common

of the late Mr. *Hutchinſon*, intitled, *Chriſtianity almoſt as old as the Creation*. It muſt be owned, this Author has at leaſt made Mr. *Hutchinſon*'s Scheme intelligible: And has ſhewn he has no want of any thing, as a Writer, but a more reaſonable and better Cauſe.

in the Caſe, from being applied to at firſt as *Helps* only to Devotion, were quickly afterwards advanced into the *ſupreme Objects* of it.

I WILL not anſwer, (replied *Hortenſius*) how far any ſuch *miſconſtrued Tradition* as you have been pleading for, might contribute to the Introduction of theſe firſt-practiſed Idolatries; but I am very ſure, the popular Artifices of an *accommodating Philoſophy*, deviſed in its excuſe and vindication by the more forward Maſters in *religious* Politics, did very much to its ſupport, and growing Intereſt in the World. The importance in general of *ſome Religion* to the Purpoſes of Society and Government, could not but ſtrike the moſt unpractiſed Thinker. Whilſt more improved Reflection would be apt to ſuſpect the Hopeleſſneſs, and Policy to ſuggeſt the inexpedience, of an Attempt to retain the Bulk of Mankind in a perfectly *rational One*. The wiſeſt would find it *extremely difficult*; to the Vulgar it might be preſumed little ſhort of *impoſſible*; to raiſe their *Thoughts* above their *Senſes*; or to any requiſite degree *conceive*, what they were not at liberty to *imagine* *. Hence that favorite Doctrine in all learned Paganiſm;

* Permoleſtum enim compluribus videbatur, Intellectu tantummodo Deum perveſtigare, non etiam viſu uſurpare. *Kirch.* Ob. Pam. *p.* 159.

niſm; no where more ſo, than, where it was probably firſt contrived, in *Egypt*; of Divinity, as it were, *partially imbodied*; and made viſible to outward View, in the varied Species of its own Workmanſhip *. A Doctrine, I am inclined to ſuſpect, which the inticed Weakneſs of popular Simplicity firſt

* This is what the *Stoic* in *Cicero*'s ſecond Book of the Nature of the Gods, expreſſes by Tracta ratio a Phyſicis Rebus ad commenticios et fictos Deos. Which however open to Abuſe in the popular and fabulous way of treating it; as when the Maſters of this Theology, to explain the Powers and Paſſions of the Univerſe, talk of the Formas Deorum, et Ætates, et Veſtitus, Ornatuſque; genera præterea, conjugia, cognationes, omniaque traducta ad ſimilitudinem imbecillitatis humanæ; nam et perturbatis animis inducuntur; accipimus enim Deorum cupiditates, ægritudines, iracundias; nec vero, ut Fabulæ ferunt, Di bellis præliiſque caruerunt: yet was capable of a very good Meaning, when conſidered as expreſſing, Deum pertinentem per naturam cujuſque rei; per terras Cererem, per maria Neptunum; alios per alia: qui, qualeſque ſunt, quoque eos nomine conſuetudo nuncupaverit, venerari, et colere debemus. *De Nat. Deor.* lib. 2. cap. 28. The Pagans ſeemed to apprehend a kind of neceſſity of worſhipping God thus *in his Works*, and *in the viſible Things of this World*; becauſe the generality of the Vulgar were then unable to frame any Notion of an inviſible Deity; and, unleſs they were detained in a way of Religion by ſuch a Worſhip of God, as was accommodate and ſuitable to the lowneſs of their Apprehenſions, would unavoidably run into Atheiſm. Nay, the moſt philoſophical Wits amongſt them, confeſſing God to be incomprehenſible to them, ſeemed themſelves alſo to ſtand in need of ſome *ſenſible* Props to lean upon. *Cudworth*'s Intel. Syſtem, chap. 4. *p.* 510.

firſt recommended to the Adoption of *philoſophic* Syſtem; and Men were *practically* convicted of, before they were taught *ſpeculatively* to entertain. The Biaſs of the *many* drew ſtrongly, we may imagine, towards a ſenſible Object of devout Worſhip; a Deity accommodated to their Apprehenſion; and indulged to their View. A *ſtriking* Preſence was of ſingular Efficacy in ſuggeſting to them a *divine* one *. And when by this means the *actual* Idolatry of the Sun and Moon was growing into an *Uſage*, the Learning of the Times ſoon ſet itſelf to work to authorize it as an *Eſtabliſhment*; under pretence, that the Benefits of Providence diſpenſed to Mankind by the Means of theſe *important* Luminaries, could not be better acknowledged, than by a Devotion to their immediate Beam. The ſeveral Qualities and Powers of which being only ſo many *Derivations* from the *firſt Cauſe*, the Worſhip of them was in truth no *other*, than the Worſhip of *that Cauſe* under a particular Conſideration of its Agency and Effect †. The

* Cum Solem in medio veluti vivificum mundi Oculum, ac harmonici ordinis Choragum, immortalem illum Jovem virtutis ſuæ ſigillo Univerſa temperantem conſpicerent, (Ægyptii) eum aliquid ſupra naturam excellentius, nimirum το Θειον, quod virtute ſuâ omnia moveat, mota diſtinguat, diſtincta ornet, calore veluti amore quodam ſympathetico diſtincta uniat, arbitrati ſunt. *Kirch.* Ob. Pam. *p.* 157.

† The Truth of this whole Buſineſs ſeems to be this;

The Plea was artfully calculated; at once to humour the Inclination, and palliate, as it might ſeem, in ſome degree, the abſurdity of popular Thinking. Whilſt, in this way of Reaſoning, new Forms of Worſhip were continually ariſing; and *Deity* became every Day more and more eaſy, both of Comprehenſion, and Acceſs *. For the Sun,

this; That the ancient Pagans did phyſiologize in their Theology; and, whether looking upon the whole World animated, as the ſupreme *God*; and conſequently the ſeveral Parts of it as his living Members; or elſe apprehending it at leaſt to be *a Mirror*, or viſible Image of the inviſible Deity, and conſequently *all its ſeveral Parts*, and *Things of Nature*, but as ſo many ſeveral Manifeſtations of the divine Power and Providence; they pretended, that all their Devotion towards the Deity ought not to be huddled up in one general confuſed Acknowledgment of a ſupreme inviſible Being, the Creator and Governor of all; but that all the *ſeveral Manifeſtations* of the Deity in the World, conſidered *ſingly*, and *apart by themſelves*, ſhould be ſo many *diſtinct Objects* of their devout Veneration. *Cudworth*'s Intell. Syſt. *p.* 228.

* By means of what the laſt cited very learned Author calls, "Breaking or crumbling as it were "of the ſimple Deity; and parcelling out of the "ſame into many particular Notions and partial Con-"ſiderations, according to the various Manifeſtations "of its Power and Providence." *p.* 531.———It is not improbable, what our Author obſerves, *p.* 309. That the Inſcription mentioned by *Plutarch* to the Goddeſs *Neith*, or *Minerva* at *Sais* in *Egypt*——— Εγω ειμι παν το γεγονος, και ον, και ἐσομενον, και τον εμον πεπλον ουδεις πω θνητος απεκαλυψεν. De Iſide et Oſir. *p.* 354———might be intended to expreſs the "Mind or Wiſdom of the Deity diffuſing "itſelf

Sun, and Moon once conceived of, as the *viſible Exhibitions* of Divinity in the Syſtem, the

" itſelf thro' all Things; or the Perfections of God " made viſible in the ſeveral Manifeſtations of his " Power, Wiſdom, and Goodneſs in the material " Univerſe. And that the Veil here ſaid to be " thrown over this Goddeſs might be a Symbol of " the more *recondite*, and *arcane Theology* of the *E-* " *gyptians*; which conſidered this as a *ſimple Principle*, " or Attribute of the Deity; tho' for the Eaſe of " vulgar Conception conſidered thus partially in its " Effects." And this may give us the ground of the *Orphic* Doctrine amongſt the Greeks of the, Ἑν τι τα παντα. The *Hermaic* Books, 'tis more than probable, by whomſoever forged, are in the main formed upon the Principles of the ancient *Hermetic*, or *Triſmegiſtic* Theology, preſerved in traditional Memory in *Egypt*, and in the Rituals of her popular Superſtition. And theſe Books are full of this Doctrine. From their being the late Forgeries of *Pythagorean*, or *Platonic* Sophiſts, and full of the Characters of theſe Sects of Philoſophy, it will not be evinced, that they are of a Genius intirely different from the ancient *Egyptian* one; ſeeing the Founders of both theſe Sects borrowed the main Principles of their Philoſophy from *Egypt*; as did the *Greeks* in general all their Learning. So that as *Jamblichus* obſerves (and *Cudworth* approves the Obſervation) they may περιεχειν Ἑρμαϊκας δοξας, ει και τη των φιλοσοφων γλωτη πολλακις χρηται.——For in the Language of the incomparably ingenious, and entertaining Author of the Archæolog. Phil. lib. 1. *p.* 77. 4to. Revera quæ fuerint *Ægyptiorum* Dogmata, et quid alios docuerint, ab eorum diſcipulis, Philoſophis *Græcis*, reſciendum eſſe videtur; qui ut notum eſt, *Ægyptum* petere ſolebant ad adipiſcendas literas altiores——and elſewhere, Non aliunde repetenda eſt ſapientia *Ægyptiorum*, quam ab eorum Diſcipulis, Philoſophis *Græcis*, idque potiſſimum

the ſeveral inferior Orders of celeſtial Lights, of which it was obvious to think, that they were in general of the ſame Nature with, and Partakers in degree of the ſeveral Powers and Virtues of, the ſuperior ones; would ſoon demand in their Place and Proportion a like *honourable* Conſideration. At the ſame Time that, their number not admitting ſeparate Applications, and Philoſophy, 'tis probable, not as yet ſufficiently entring into their particular Diſtinctions, to appoint them particular Services; they could not well be otherwiſe adored, than either *incluſively in* their *Principals*; or elſe *in Sum*, as it were, *together with them*; by way of *comprehenſive* Addreſs to that magnificent *Concave*, in which both were alike ſeemingly diſpoſed. Such, *Philemon*, I take to have been the original Idolatry of the World. Whether *Egypt*, or *Chaldea*, were properly the Authors of it, would, I am ſure, be a fruitleſs, and is, I conceive, a very needleſs Diſquiſition. Both of them, we are certain, before the Times we are now arrived at, were notoriouſly guilty in the kind; and from them the Practice was too ſoon propagated to all the various Diſperſions of Mankind.

mum ab *antiquiſſimis*; nempe *Orphicis*, *Ionicis*, *Pythagoricis*, *Platoniciſque*. Patrum imagines in filiis et nepotibus intuemur. Et ab his Alumnis Diſciplinæ *Ægyptiacæ* ipſius effigiem qualitercunque licet depingere vel adumbrare. Ibid. *p.* 99.

Of this ſort (I interpoſed) was, I imagine, *Hortenſius*, the greateſt Part of thoſe Idolatries mentioned in the earlier Scriptures; to have been practiſed ſo univerſally, whereever the *Jewiſh* People had any Communication. And to which, we find, even the *choſen Seed* themſelves had ſuch an untoward Propenſion, that not all the Policy of a divinely ſuggeſted Diſcipline for the Purpoſe, exerciſed upon them for a ſucceſſion of forty Years, would, in the opinion of their wiſe and provident Legiſlator, a little before his Death, prove a ſufficient check upon them in this Regard: But, even in poſſeſſion of Promiſes, whoſe very *Tenure* was a *total Forbearance* in this kind, they would yet, he very juſtly ſuſpected, be here perpetually tranſgreſſing; and in deſpight of the moſt affecting Mementos both in their Hiſtory, and Ordinances, of Power *ſuperior* to the *Heavens*, would be tempted by the momentary Argument of a ſingle *Glance* to compliment them ever and anon with ſupreme *; miſtaking

* *Deut.* 4. *v.* 15, 19. *Take good heed*, (ſays *Moſes*, to *Iſrael*) *leſt thou lift up thine Eyes unto Heaven, and when thou ſeeſt the Sun, and the Moon, and the Stars, even all the Hoſt of Heaven, ſhouldeſt be driven to worſhip them, and ſerve them, which the Lord thy God hath divided* (or as the marginal Reading has it, imparted) *unto all Nations under the whole Heaven.* Ne forte eleves oculos tuos in cælos, et videas Solem, et Lunam, atque ſtellas, cum univerſo exercitu cælorum, et Impulſus adores atque colas ea.

miſtaking theſe uſeful *Inſtruments* of divine *Providence*, for the *exhibited Splendors* of divine *Majeſty*. So much, it ſhould ſeem, was this the prevailing Doctrine, and general Infatuation of theſe Times.

I AM afraid, (replied *Hortenſius*) the Idolatry of this Age did not by any means ſtop here; as you will find in the ſequel of our Inquiry. But a part of it this undoubtedly was; and *one* moreover, as appears from our *ſacred* Accounts themſelves, of by no means recent Eſtabliſhment. For in the Book of *Job*, (who lived, 'tis probable, ſome Centuries before the Æra of that Paſſage of *Moſes*'s Hiſtory you have been hinting at *) where the illuſtrious *Sufferer* is introduced, as appealing to the Sentence of Heaven itſelf for the general Integrity of his Character; his innocence as to the particular Corruption of *Sabiiſm* as an impiety exceeding common in his time, is *diſtinctly* inſiſted on: The very Ceremony of its Practice, namely that of *Adoration*, or the Idolater's applying his Hand to his Mouth, in token of his religious Reverence to the heavenly Luminaries, being particularly pointed out to us: And the true *Atheiſtic* Conſtruction of it in all Reaſon, and ſober Conſequence, at the ſame time very remark-

* He was probably contemporary with the Patriarch *Iſaac*.

ably aſſerted; in oppoſition, no doubt, to all ſuch unavailing Refinements, as we have above ſuppoſed (and are here, I think, authorized to ſuppoſe) the politic Learning of accommodating Hierarchs, or Stateſmen, had propagated in its Apology, and Incouragement *. When by theſe means however, as has been ſaid, the Idolatry of the Heavens was become generally authorized; the next Step in the Progreſs of Apotheoſis, was, I imagine, for Reaſons above occaſionally hinted to you, the Conſecration of artificial, or common *Fire* †. This, 'twas obvious to think, was both an immediate Communication from, and moſt expreſſive, as well as permanent Symbol of the *Sidereal* Splendors. But its chief Recommendation was, its proceeding yet a Degree lower in the levelling Scheme of popular Divinity; and bringing down the *Gods*, as it were, to the Earth; to the very Habitation, Familiarity, and, in ſome meaſure, the good Offices, of their Worſhippers ‡.

I AM

* Si vidi Solem, quando ſplendebat, et Lunam incedentem clarè, et ſeduxit ſeſe, (aliter) Lætatum eſt, in abſcondito cor meum, et oſculatum eſt manum meam os meum, etiam hoc fuiſſet iniquitas judicata; quia Abnegaſſem Deum Deſuper. *Job*, lib. 1. cap. 31. 26, 27, 28.

† Τουτοις γαρ (τοις φαινομενοις ουρανιοις θεοις) και το πυρ αθανατον φυλατ[τ]ομεν εν τοις ἱεροις, ου μαλιστα αυτοις ὁμοιωτατον. Porph. de Abſt. lib. 2. *p.* 53.

‡ Vulcani claudicatio, ſays a learned Writer, notat

I AM afraid (ſaid I) it was bringing them a good deal *nearer* in effect, than they had any reaſon to deſire to be brought. For ſo ſtriking an Object as the *ſacred* Fire once placed before Men's Eyes, as a direct Diſcerpſion from the *celeſtial*; and ſo *commodiouſly* withal for their religious Applications; 'twas but to compliment the *Subſtitute*, (what Senſe and Imagination would very readily come into) with being too *faithful* to the Honors of its *Principals*, ever to think of intercepting them, however *unguarded* in their Paſſage; and thus, that uneaſy Check upon all zealous Devotion, a *conſcious Reſervation* in the exerciſe of it, might ſoon be thrown off, as a Reſtraint not more inconvenient, than really unneceſſary in the Caſe: And the Mind, with the Eye, would be at the trouble of looking no farther, than to the immediate *Exhibition*, and neareſt *Species*.

AND if the Subſtitute in this Inſtance, (reſumed *Hortenſius*) did thus eaſily inſinuate itſelf into the Honours of its Principals; it had at leaſt their *own Example* to plead in its excuſe; they having before, by a like artifice, diſpoſſeſſed of all religious Regard and Reverence

tat ignis noſtri imperfectionem. As fanciful as the Analogy here may be thought, the Fact will not be diſputed, that, Niſi ligna ac materiem appoſueris, perbrevi tempore extinguitur. *Voſſ.* de Orig. &c. lib. 2. *p.* 659.

Reverence the only juſt Object of any: And, under colour of aſſiſting Men to a readier contemplation and ſervice of their Maker, well nigh baniſhed him from among them. For thus indeed ſtood the Matter with our *Egyptian* Speculatiſts; that, from the times we are now ſpeaking of, being ever at work to exhibit *Deity* to the Multitude in new *Forms* of its *Effects*, they by degrees quite *confounded* it with them. At leaſt to vulgar Apprehenſion; to which *God*, and *Nature*, ſoon became the very ſame Idea *; and the World, which ought only to have been regarded, as the magnificent *Theatre* of *divine Perfections*, was itſelf *blaſphemouſly* adored, as the *independent Proprietor* of them. The Doctrine of Viſible-Apotheoſis once believed in *Egypt*; and all Senſe and Obſervation agreeing to direct her, for the *firſt Examples* in the kind, to the heavenly Regions; the Reſidence, 'twas obvious to imagine, of the chief *active* Powers of the Syſtem; the neceſſity of *ſome* convenient *Receptacle* for the celeſtial Influences, and *Subject* of their *genial* Agency and Operation; and the manifeſt Accommodation in Nature of the *Earth* for this Purpoſe; in the Progreſs of her *levelling* Theology,

* They were in the Error mentioned by *Plutarch*; and did, ἱσια και καλους και αγκυραν ἡγεισθαι κυβερνητην, και νηματα και κροκας ὑφαντην, και σπουδειου και μελικρατου, ἡ πτισαννην ἰατρου. De Iſide, &c. *p.* 377.

logy, ſoon drew down her Attention, and her Homage, to this great *paſſive Subſtance*; as to the next *chief Intereſt* in the *mundane Oeconomy* *. She accordingly conſidered the Heavens, and the Earth, under the relative Characters of *Male* and *Female* †. A Relation, which her Maſters of the *Mythologic Proſopopœa* expreſſed, we may ſuppoſe, by giving them in Marriage to each other: Since from hence, 'tis highly probable, the *Greek*, and *Roman* Theogoniſts, learnt to do ſo, under the Titles correſponding in their reſpective Languages to their original *Egyptian* ones; of Ουρανος, and Γη, or *Cælus*, and *Tellus*; the Parents of Κρονος, *Saturn*, or the whole *regular Oeconomy* of the viſible World ‡.

THE

* Ex Elementis ante alia, ut arbitror, Tellus divinos obtinuit honores. Idque laxe eâ voce acceptâ, ut ſignat hunc globum terræ et aquæ, qui opponitur cæleſti, hoc eſt Æthereo et Aereo Corpori——Nec mirum, ſi ab Æthereis corporibus prolapſi etiam ſint ad cultum Telluris: quando poſt cælos ea princeps eſt mundi Pars. Etiam uti in cælis ſol et ſidera, continuo ſe ingerunt in ſenſus: ita in partibus mundi inferioribus primo oculis et corporis et mentis, Telluris ſe bona offerebant. *Voſſ.* de Orig. &c. lib. 2. cap. 51.

† Denique prope omnium ea eſt veterum opinio Terram eſſe antiquam matrem, quam cælo nuptam dixere, quia ut in rerum generatione cælum refert marem; ſic in eâdem Tellus eſſet alma Mater. *Voſſ.* ub. ſup.——Principes Dei Cælum et Terra. *Varro.* 4, de L. L.

‡ Saturnus quem Cælu' genit. *Ennius.* 1. Annal. Saturnus ipſe——cum tradatur ordo Elementorum,

THE Relation, (ſaid I) ſeems in ſome meaſure to have been approved by the ſacred *Coſmogoniſt* himſelf; who in entring upon the important Tranſaction of Creation; or a Univerſe riſing into Being at the efficacious *Fiat* of its Maker; gives us his firſt general *Picture* of it, under the two comprehenſive Diſtinctions, of *Heaven*, and *Earth* *. Does not this Agreement in the *Jewiſh*, and *Egyptian* Phyſiology of this matter, incline one to think, they were both derived from one common Stock of original Tradition in the Point? tho' the latter had fraudulently ſunk one main Article of the primitive Account, in accommodation, as you have obſerved, to popular Prejudice; or as finding it, perhaps, agreeable to the Sentiments of a corrupt religious Policy, to conceal *one* Part of the Truth, in order to a more convenient Application of the *other* †.

THE

rum, temporum Numeroſitate diſtinctus, luce patefactus. *Macrob. Sat.* lib. 1. cap. 22.

* Imo Deus die primâ feciſſe dicitur Cælum et Terram, ut plane his debeatur principatus——Cæli ac Terræ nominibus etiam in ſacris literis rerum intelligitur univerſitas. *Voſſ.* de Orig. &c. lib. 2. cap. 51. *Gen.* 1. 1.

† In the beginning God created the Heaven, and the Earth. *Gen.* 1. 1. They failed in common with the earlier *Grecian* Theologers in a very important Article, of which *Anaxagoras* is ſaid to have been the firſt Reſtorer. Ὁυτος δη πρωτος διηρθρωσε του περι αρχων λογου· ου γαρ μονον περι της παντων ουσιας απε-

THE obvious appearance of the Thing itſelf, (returned *Hortenſius*) may, I think, fully account for the Diſtinction ſuppoſed, without any Intimation from a Tradition on its behalf. I am ſenſible, ſome more recondite Articles of the *Egyptian* Phyſics, as particularly, their early acquaintance with the true Syſtem of the World, could be no other than πατροπαραδοτα; Doctrines of Inheritance; whoſe Age, and Authorities were, it may be, equally obſcure. Inaſmuch as, the national *Acumen* in Matters of more elaborate Phyſical Reſearch, was by no means equal to the Diſcovery of them. But for an accurate Obſervation of, and Familiarity with, the more obvious *Phænomena* of Nature, excluſively of any nice Diſquiſition of the remoter *Cauſes* of them; the *Egyptians* were at all times exceedingly remarkable: as, probably, for other Reaſons that might be mentioned; ſo eſpecially upon a religious Account; both the *Theory* and *Services* of their Worſhip obliging them to a very regular Diligence in this kind. We have already, *Philemon*, (continued he) attended them in the Courſe of their Phyſiological Theology to the *Apotheoſis* of the two *great Inſtruments* of all natural Generation; the operative Influences of the *Heavens*, and the paſ-

απεφηνατο, ὡς οἱ πρὸ αυτου, αλλα και περι του κινουντος αυτην αιτιου. Euſeb. præp. lib. 10. cap. ult.

ſive Subject of them, or groſs *terreſtrial* Maſs. From whence, in their Doctrine of honoring Cauſes in their Effects, they were eaſily led to *deify* the *Iſſue* of this important *Congreſs*; Κρονος, *Saturn*, the το παν, or collective *Contents*, and *Apparatus* of the intire *mundane* Machine; as the next Article of their increaſing Polytheiſm *. But the Object here, taken at large, being of ſomewhat difficult Comprehenſion, and a Conſideration of it in *Parts*, not only confirming its *general* Divinity, but even multiplying, as well as greatly aſſiſting the particular Offices of its Worſhip; 'twas ſoon agreed, to branch it out, for the convenience both of common Conception, and Addreſs, into the ſeveral more conſiderable *Diviſions*, *Members*, or conſtituent *Principles*, of which it was eſteemed to be compoſed. And thus we come to thoſe five primary Articles of the intire natural Compages, or Ingredients of

* Hunc (*Saturnum*) aiunt abſcidiſſe *Cæli* Patris pudenda——Cum Semina rerum omnium poſt cælum gignendarum de cælo fluerent; et elementa univerſa, quæ mundo plenitudinem facerent, ex illis Seminibus funderentur; ubi Mundus omnibus ſuis partibus membriſque perfectus eſt, certo jam tempore finis factus eſt procedendi de cælo ſemina ad elementorum conceptionem; quippe quæ jam plena fuerant Procreata———Propter abſciſſorum pudendorum fabulam, etiam noſtri eum *Saturnum* vocitarunt: παρα την σαθην, quod membrum virile declarat, veluti Sathunum. *Macrob. Sat.* lib. 1. cap. 8. Το σωμα του κοσμου παν. *Diod. Sic.* lib. 1. *p.* 11.

of the univerſal Compound; mentioned by *Diodorus*, as ſo many Deities of *Egypt*; namely, *Spirit*, or a ſoft, inviſibly active, and ſubtil Flame, the ſuppoſed Matter of the Æther, or heavenly Regions; and immediate Inſtrument of particular animal, and intelligent Life. Elementary, or ſenſible Fire. Groſs dry Subſtance, or Earth. Water, or Humidity. And laſtly, the Air, or Atmoſphere *. Under each of which Head-Diviſions of Nature, thus ſeparately, and at large, inveſted with a divine Character, innumerable Orders of inferior Divinities by Degrees ſprang up; as the ſeveral diſtinct Properties, Effects, and relative Conſiderations of each came to be more minutely examined: To ſuch ſucceſſive Inlargements of

* Διο και το μεν απαν σωμα της των ὁλων φυσεως εξ ἡλιου και σεληνης απαρτιζεσθαι· τα δε τουτων μερη πεντε τα προειρημενα, το τε πνευμα, και το πυρ, και το ξηρον, ετι δε το ὑγρον, και το τελευταιον το αερωδης· τουτων δ' εκαστον θεον νομισαι, και προσηγοριαν ιδιαν εκαστω θειναι κατα το οικειον· το μεν ουν πνευμα Διαπροσαγορευσαι κ. τ. λ. *Diod. Sic.* lib. 1. *p.* 11. Rhod. *Chryſippus* Mundum Deum dicet eſſe, ignem præterea, et Æthera, Aquam, Terram, et Aera; Solem, Lunam, Sidera, Univerſitatemque Rerum. *Cic. de Nat. Deor.* lib. 1. cap. 15. *Davies.*

'Tis in the Conception here noted of the Æthereal Matter, that in the *Greek* Mythology *Jupiter* is ſtiled, πατηρ ανδρωντε θεωντε, *The Father of Gods and Men*; or in other Words, the univerſally Life-giving and informant Principle, as well to the ſeveral *deified Heroes* of the firſt Ages, as to all the ſubſequent Generations of leſs diſtinguiſhed Mankind.

the Syſtem of *natural Apotheoſis*, as it would be quite endleſs to repreſent to you.

YOU need not, (I interpoſed here) be at the trouble, *Hortenſius*, of treating this Subject any farther in detail. The Foundation Principles of Error, and falſe Worſhip, once laid, as you have determined; the Superſtructure, I am ſenſible, might be increaſed to any requiſite Degree at pleaſure. The Maſters of ſuch a Theology could never want a Pretence to inlarge the Subſtance of it; whenever, in the courſe of religious Politics, the quantity of national Superſtition ſhould be thought proper to be augmented; as long as there was any ſuch Thing as Fancy or Invention ſubſiſting in their Order. A pregnant Imagination might, in the way of Thinking here ſuppoſed, deviſe as many different Species of Divinity, as there were of diſtinct Beings; or, I may add, as there could be conceived diſtinct Powers or Affections of thoſe Beings, in the World.

FOR a view of this Scheme of *multiplied* and *particularized Apotheoſis* literally made Fact, (returned he) one need but run over the Liſt of *Grecian*, and more emphatically ſtill, of *Roman* Deities. In the mean while, to return to our *Egyptian* confeſſed Leaders in the kind; whilſt they were ſo religiouſly attentive to the whole Conduct, and Ap-

pearances of Nature, as has been repreſented; ſo obvious, as well as important a Diſtinſtion in it, as that of Good, and Evil, could not, you may be ſure, eſcape their Notice. They accordingly deified each Branch of this Diſtinction in their two oppoſitely perſonated Characters of *Typhon* and *Oſiris* *; *the Inflamer*, and *the black, or muddy River* †. Expreſſing

* Ου γαρ αυχμον ουδε ανεμον, ουδε θαλατταν, ουδε σκοτος, αλλα παν ὁσον ἡ φυσις βλαβερου και φθαρτικον εχει μοριον, του Τυφωνος ες-ιν. *Plut. de Iſide et Oſir. p.* 369. He is called alſo Σηθ, ſignifying, ſays the ſame Author, το καταδευνας-ευον και καταβιαζομενον· and to expreſs his general Character they conſecrate to him, των ἡμερων ζωων τον αμαθες-ατον ονον, των δε αγριων θηριωδες-ατα, κροκοδειλον, και τον ποταμιον ἱππον. *p.* 371. ub. ſup. Το δε κεκοσμημενον και αγαθον και ωφελιμον, ὡς Ισιδος μεν εργον, εικονα δε και μιμημα, και λογον Οσιριδος, σεβομενοι και τιμωντες ουκ αν ἁμαρτανοιμεν. Ubi ſup. *p.* 377.

† Quemadmodum vero *Nilus Hebræis* ob nigricantes aquas, et quia Terram humectans eam reddet nigram, *Sichor*, ſive *Sior*, hoc eſt, *Niger* dictus eſt; (*Iſa.* 23. *v.* 3. *Jer.* 11. *v.* 18.) ita et *Græcis* eadem de Cauſâ vocatus eſt Μελας, *Plutarcho*, et *Euſtathio*, teſtibus. Indeque et Latinis veteribus appellatus eſt *Melo*, ut *Feſtus*, et *Servius*, tradidere. Ex quibus etiam cognoſcere licet, cur *Ægyptii*, *Plutarcho* teſte, *Oſirin* effingant nigrum, nempe nigrum *Nili* colorem attenderunt. Et quid ſi dicamus, ipſum nomen *Oſiris* eſſe ex *Schichor*, ſive, ut mollius pronunciant, *Sior?* Nam *Sior*, trajectis literis, fit *Oſir*; unde, terminatione additâ Græcanicâ ac *Romanâ*, *Oſiris*. Jam ante in Vocabulis Ρεας και Ἡρης, oſtendimus, Gentiles in Deorum nominibus iſtiuſmodi trajectione gaviſos;

Expreſſing thus the general Intereſts of Miſchief, and Beneficence in Nature, by a particular local Exemplification in each kind in their own Country: The former Character being, " Properly that of the Sun, conſider-" ed as bringing on yearly the intenſe Sum-" mer Heats in *Egypt* *; the latter of the " *Nile*, conſidered in his annual overflow " there during the chief part of the Summer " Seaſon, as an eſpecial Proviſion in Nature " on its Favour, on that Regard." For this was, I need not inform you, the Fact here, *Philemon*; that at what time the ſolar Influences were moſt afflicting to the *Egyptians*, and ſeemed to threaten the intire Deſolation of their Country by exceſſive and increaſing Drought; the *Nile*, in a kind of Patron Character to a Land he had himſelf given being to *as ſuch*, by repeated Spoils from a neighbour Diſtrict †; increaſed by the continual Rains which had for ſome Weeks been falling in *Ethiopia*; regularly deluged a great Part of its Surface: Hereby not

gaviſos; ne, ſi vulgata eorum retinerentur vocabula, haut aliud viderentur, quam Elementa. *Voſſ.* de Orig. et Prog. Idol. lib. 2. cap. 74.

* It was in this view that they repreſented πυρρον γεγονεναι τον Τυφωνα, και ουωδη την χροαν. *Plut. de Iſid. p.* 262.

† Επικτητος τε γη, και δωρου του ποταμου. *Herod. Euterpe*, cap. 5. Καθολου γαρ την νυν ουσαν Αιγυπτου λεγουσιν ου χωραν, αλλα θαλατταν γεγονεναι. *Diod. Sic.* lib. 3. *p.* 144.

not only abating in a very ſenſible Manner the inſtant Diſtreſs; but likewiſe, by the ſame Methods he had gradually accumulated, ſtill continuing to inrich the *Egyptian* Soil; and preparing it for an eaſy and ſucceſsful Culture for the Service of the inſuing Year, upon the Receſs, or drying off of the Flood.

I ALWAYS underſtood (ſaid I) *Oſiris* to be the *Egyptian* Character of the Sun, in quality of his being, as they repreſented him, *many-eyed* *, or overlooking the whole extent of the Univerſe. I am ſure, I have ſomewhere met with this account of the name.

THE other I have been giving you, (replied *Hortenſius*) is, I think, the truer; that it denotes, in ſtrict Acceptation, the *muddy River*; or the *Nile*. Tho', in compliment to this ſo friendly Stream to *Egypt*, the Founder, as well as Guardian, and annually improving Power of the Country; the *Egyptians* make uſe of this Expreſſion to characterize the *whole friendly Intereſt* in Nature. As on the other hand, *Typhon* is for a direct contrary Reaſon, made the general Character of *Defect*, *Diſorder*, and *Miſchief* in the Syſtem. In this way of Thinking, the Sun, in different Views of his Operation,

* πολυοφθαλμον, ſo *Diodorus* interprets the name, Multoculum, lib. 1. bib. *p.* 11.

ration, either in *Egypt*, or in Nature, may, you will obſerve, be both *Typhon*, and *Oſiris*. *Typhon*, as the Cauſe of intenſe ſcorching Heat; *Oſiris*, as the Principle of kindly and genial Warmth; the inlivening, and fertilizing Power of the whole Univerſe *. Tho', as Fear is ever a more powerful Motive to Obſervation than Love, he was, I believe, more generally regarded in the *Egyptian* Worſhip under his *Typhonic* Character. Inaſmuch as we learn from *Plutarch*, they were uſed to repreſent mild, moderated, and generative Light, or Heat, as the more *peculiar* Diſpenſation of the *ſober* and *qualified lunar Orb*; as if it were neceſſary, ſhe ſhould firſt receive, and temper the Sun's Beam, before it could be communicated with any beneficent Effect to the Earth †. Agreeably to which Notion, of the

* Cum duo olim ſtatuerentur principia rerum ποιητικα, unum boni omnis, alterum omnis mali; Ægyptii in ſole ipſo utrumque ſpectarunt. Ac a bono quidem principio eſſe dixerunt vim beneficam, quâ Lunam illuminat, ac vitalem animantibus inſinuat Calorem. A malo autem principio eſſe crediderunt vim maleficam; quando ſuo ſtirpes ardore exſiccat, animantibus etiam peſtilitatem, et exitium, nimio inducit æſtu. Quatenus igitur eſſet beneficus, *Oſiridem* vocarunt; at quatenus idem foret maleficus, nominarunt eum *Typhona*. *Voſſ.* de Orig. lib. 2. cap. 24.

† Τυφωνα μεν οιονται τον ἡλιακον κοσμον, Οσιριν δε τον σεληνιακον· την μεν γαρ σεληνην γονιμον το φως και ὑγροποιον εχουσαν ευμενη και γοναις ζωων, και φυτων

the more immediate Agency of the Moon in the Operations of a kindlier Warmth in Nature, they celebrated an annual Feſtival upon the opening of their vernal Seaſon, to the hopes of the Year, calling it the *Entry of Oſiris*, or benign and generative Virtue, into that Luminary *. In this Suppoſition, you ſee, the *Moon* becomes *Oſiris*. As is ſometimes, with more particular Diſtinction ſtill, the *Full-Moon*; or the moſt perfect Exhibition of the Lunar Phaſis †. In oppoſition to which, *Typhon* is either an *Eclipſe* happening at that Inſtant ‡; or the ſucceeding Stages of the Moon's *Wane* ||. Sometimes *Oſiris*

Φυτων ειναι ελασητησι· τον δε ἡλιου ακρατω πυρι κεκληρωκοτα θαλπειντε και καταυαινειν τα φυομενα, και τεθηλοτα· και το πολυ μερος της γης πανταπασιν ὑπο φλογμου ποιειν αοικητον. *Plut. de Iſide, p.* 367.

* Εμβασιν Οτιριδος εις την σεληνην. Ubi ſup. 'Tis in this differenced Character of the ſolar and lunar Orbs, that the Mythologiſts make *Hercules*, or Brutal Force, to have its Reſidence in the one, and *Mercury*, or Counſel, in the other. Και το μεν ἡλιω τον Ηρακλεα μυθολογουσι ενιδρυμενον συμπεριπολειν, τη δε σεληνη τον Ἑρμην· λογου γαρ εργοις εοικε και παρα σοφιας τα της σεληνης, τα δ' εν ἡλιω πληγαις ὑπο Βιας και ρωμης περαινομενης. *Plut. de Iſide, p.* 367.

† Εβδομη επι δεκα την Οτιριδος γενεσθαι τελευτην μυθολογουσιν, εν ᾗ μαλιστα γινεται πληρουμενη κατα δηλος ἡ παυσεληνος, διο και ὁλως τον αριθμον τουτον αφοσιουνται. Ubi ſup.

‡ Και κατακρατειν πολλαχου και της σεληνης. *Plut. de Iſid. p.* 367.

|| In this way of Thinking, *Oſiris* is ſaid to have

 reigned

Oſiris is *Humidity* in general, conſider'd as a neceſſary Condition to animal or vegetative Generation, and Life; as oppoſed to which, *Typhon* is *Drought*; or whatever tends to deſtroy, or diminiſh from, the due Proportion of genial and radical Moiſture in Nature *. Sometimes *Oſiris* is the *Nile* conſidered as, by its yearly Precipitations of an earthy Sediment collected in *Ethiopia* upon the Spot, having gained *Egypt* from the *Sea*; and *Typhon* is here the previous Property of the *Ocean* in theſe Parts †. Sometimes *Oſiris* is the *Nile*, as in its yearly Overflow inriching the Land of *Egypt*, and *Typhon* the *Sea*, as abſorbing that River at ſeveral Mouths on the northern Side of it.

reigned 28 Years. And to have been torn by *Typhon* into fourteen Parts; the number of Days from the Full-Moon to the New; or the Time of the Moon's Wane.

* Οἱ δὲ σοφωτεροι των ἱερεων Οσιριν μεν απλως ἁπασαν την ὑγροποιον αρχην και δυναμιν, αιτιαν γενησεως, και σπερματος ουσιαν νομιζουτες, Τυφωνα δε παν το αυχμηρον, και πυρωδες, και ξηραντικον ὁλως, και πολεμιον τη ὑγροτητι. *Plut. de Iſide. p.* 364. This was the Foundation of the Mythology, that the *Phallus* of *Oſiris* was by *Typhon* thrown into the *Nile*, and devoured by Fiſh. The Meaning here being, doubtleſs, to expreſs the fertilizing Quality of Water.

† 'Tis in this Senſe, that, as *Plutarch* informs us, the *Egyptians* celebrated the Victory of *Orus* over *Typhon*, or the Expulſion of the Sea from their Country, by the annually increaſing Sediment of the *Nile*.

it *. Sometimes in a more refined, and highly philoſophic Senſe, *Oſiris* is the *whole active Force* of the Univerſe, conſidered as having a *Prepollency* of *good* in its Effects; and *Typhon* the ſeveral *partial* and *ſubordinate* Workings of a malicious Power in the Syſtem †. In all which ſeveral Views of *Oſiris*, *Philemon*, the particular *paſſive Subject* upon which he is, in the *Egyptian* Method of Repreſentation, ſuppoſed to operate in accompliſhment of the Effect aſcribed to him under each of them; is called *Iſis*. As

 is

* Θαλασσα γαρ ην ἡ Αιγυπτος, ὁ Νειλος εξεωσας την θαλασσαν ανεφηνε το πεδιον, και ανεπληρωσε ταις προσχωσεσιν. *Plut. de Iſide. p.* 367.

Παρ Αιγυπτιοις Νειλον ειναι τον Οσιριν Ισιδι συνοντα τη γη, Τυφωνα δε την θαλασσαν, εις ἡν ὁ Νειλος εμπιπτων αφανιζεται και διασπαται. *Plut. de Iſide. p.* 363.

† Ac ex eorum Sententiâ, (*Egyptiorum*) in hâc Rerum ab utroque principio miſturâ, prævalet facultas melioris numinis: attamen non in tantum ut deterioris opus aboleat prorſus: quippe et vis iſta deterioris principii penitiſſimis inhæret corporibus, ſaltem illis ſub Lunâ conſtitutis: atque inde eſt, quod meliori ſemper repugnet Facultati. *Voſſ.* de Orig. et Prog. Idol. lib. 1. cap. 5. In this View, the *Egyptians* uſed to repreſent *Typhon* under the Figure of a River-Horſe, with a Hawk and Serpent fighting upon his Back. The meaning was, that the *evil Principle* in Nature, tho' continually oppoſed, never gives way *wholly* to the *good One*. To ſignify, however, that in ſome Inſtances he ſubmits for a Time, the People of *Hermopolis*, had a Feſtival to *Iſis* returning out of *Phœnicia* with the Body of *Oſiris*, upon which occaſion they figured *Typhon* as *bound* upon their Cakes.

is the reſult of their mutual Congreſs, *Orus*. Thus *Iſis* is ſometimes the Moon, as paſſive to the Light of the Sun; and *Orus*, the Computation of Time as effected by the Revolutions of theſe Orbs. Sometimes *Iſis* is the Air, or Earth, as paſſive to the kindlier Influences of the *Heavens in general*; or at other Times, to thoſe of the *Moon in particular*; and the Effect of theſe two Powers, called *Orus*, is a general Clemency of Seaſon, and conſequent Plenty of all vegetative Productions. Sometimes *Iſis* is in a diſtinguiſhed Regard, the Land of *Egypt* watered and inriched into an eſpecial *local* Fruitfulneſs by the Overflowing of the *Nile*. Sometimes ſhe is the *intire paſſive Nature* of Things in the abſtract; and *Orus*, the Off ſpring of her Communication in this Senſe with the univerſal active Nature, is the ſame with the whole Conſtitution of the ſenſible World. Each of which different Conſiderations of theſe *deified Characters* of *active* and *paſſive* Power in the Univerſe, and numberleſs others that might be added to them *, are the Foundation of diſtinct Ceremonies in the *Egyptian* Religion.

And now, *Philemon*, having, I think, taken a general View of the chief Articles of the original Idolatry of the *Egyptians*, the Worſhip of Nature; we are next to inquire

* Vid. *Plut. de Iſide et Oſiride.* Libellum paſſim.

quire a little into the Grounds of that *Symbol-Science* in Religion, by which they were led to repreſent theſe ſeveral *Natural Divinities* we have been ſpeaking of, under certain *animal* or *artificial* Figures, conſecrated to this Purpoſe. But as I would not tire your Thoughts with too continued an Attention to the ſame Subject, and our Morning, I believe, is already pretty far ſpent; we will reſerve this, if you pleaſe, together with the ſtill farther and finiſhing Improvement of their *phyſical Theology*, by the Introduction of the *human Apotheoſis*, or *Hero-Worſhip* into it; for another Day's Speculation.

FINIS.





Juſt publiſhed,

A New Eſſay on Civil Power in *Things Sacred*, or an Inquiry after an eſtabliſhed Religion, conſiſtent with the juſt Liberties of Mankind, and practicable under every Form of Government.

Render unto Cæſar *the Things that are* Cæſar's, *and to God the Things that are God's.* Mat. xxii. 12.

And all Things whatſoever ye would that Men ſhould do unto you, do even ſo to them. Mat. vii. 12.

Printed for M. STEEN, in the *Inner-Temple Lane.*

PHILEMON

TO

HYDASPES;

RELATING

A Fourth CONVERSATION with HORTENSIUS, upon the Subject of *False Religion.*

IN WHICH

A farther GENERAL ACCOUNT is endeavoured to be given of the Riſe and Conſtitution of *False Theory* in Religion in the *Earlier* Pagan World.

Αλλους δ' εκ τουτων επιγειους γενεσθαι φασιν (Αιγυπτιοι) υπαρξαντας μεν θνητους, δια δε συνεσιν, και κοινην Ανθρωπων ευεργεσιαν, τετυχοτας της αθανασιας. Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. 1. p. 12. Ed. Rhod.

LONDON:

Printed for M. STEEN, in the *Inner-Temple-Lane.*

M.DCC.XLI.

The Reader is desired to correct the following *Mistakes.*

PAGE 9. in the Note, l. 4. for Βιβλιοις, read Βυβλιοις. P. 26. in the Note, l. 11. after προσοφλουτες, instead of a full Point read with a Comma, and read the next Line as a Verse, ending it with απεπλαν. P. 30. in the Notes, l. 2. for γινομενα, read εγγινομενα--and in l. 32. for αναλευειν, read αναλυειν, and in l. 33. for κλησιαδας, read κλισιαδας. P. 42. l. 17. for *the Egyptians*, read *the earlier Egyptians*. In the last line of the Notes, p. 44. for ὑγεια, read ὑγειαν, and in the next line, for ευρετην, read ευρετιν. P. 46. in the Notes, l. 13. for συν επιθεμενων, read συνεπιθεμενων. In the Note, p. 71. for *parta*, read *partu*. In Note, p. 78. l. 2. for ρητηον, read ρητεον. In the Notes, p. 84. l. 6. for επεσταμμενην, read επεστραμμενην. P. 86. l. 2. for *keeps*, read *keep*.



H. Gravelot invent. sculpt.

PHILEMON

TO

HYDASPES.

&c.

THERE is not, I have often thought, *Hydaſpes*, a more effectual Preſervative againſt the *Pride* of Learning, than to reflect a little on the *Materials* of which a great part of it conſiſts. What, for example, is the whole Science of more ancient Hiſtory, even in the moſt favourable View of it, but tracing back Human Nature to its State of Infancy, and greateſt Imperfection? and converſing with it in ſuch low and childiſh Particulars, as can alone

receive a Merit from being conſidered as the firſt weak Eſſays of Improvement, the Principles of higher Attainments, and the Introduction to a better and more intereſting Scene of Affairs? For thus it is, *Hydaſpes*, we muſt undoubtedly bring ourſelves to conceive of primitive Antiquity, or we ſhall never arrive at any uſeful Acquaintance with it. Modern Notions are the ſame abſurd Comment upon the Sentiments and Practices of the firſt Ages of Mankind, that the correct Judgments of our advanc'd Life would be upon the raw Apprehenſions of our Childhood. And yet, ridiculous as ſuch a Procedure may appear, it has the Credit at leaſt of Numbers on its Party. For, whether it be, that the Reverence Men are uſually taught to pay to Antiquity, really blinds their Judgment of it; or that we are all of us too much intereſted in the Portraiture of our Kind, not to prefer at all times a flattering, to a real Likeneſs; or whether after all the mere Prejudice of Cuſtom, and the Difficulty there experimentally is in exchanging Habits of manly, for thoſe of childiſh Thinking, is itſelf a ſufficient Solution of the Point; the Fact however is too notorious: "That in no Subject has Truth ſuf-
"fer'd more by an over-fond Mixture of
"Imbelliſhment, than in that of Primitive
"Hiſtory." Writers, the moſt cold and unenter-

unenterpriſing in other matters, have here for the moſt part aſſumed the Sprightlineſs of Romance; and made a general Sacrifice of Certainty to Fiction, Credibility to Ornament. How much this complimenting Antiquity into Attainments it certainly had not, tends to perplex the Diſcovery of thoſe it really had, there needs but little Reflection to conceive. Total Darkneſs being, I had almoſt ſaid, a *ſafer* Guide, than a falſe Light, as the one at worſt but leaves us in Ignorance, the other neceſſarily leads us into Error. A wide Field, *Hydaſpes*, where is ſcarce any end of wandering! Witneſs the numberleſs contradictory Syſtems of Pagan Superſtition, that ſwell ſo many labour'd Volumes in the learned World; of which 'tis hard to determine, whether they have more embarraſs'd themſelves, each other, or the Cauſe in general. Out of whoſe multiplied and various Intricacies however, I know of no Clue which will ſo commodiouſly lead our Thoughts, as the Application of that lowering Regimen above mentioned. A Remedy perhaps, like many others, therefore only ſo generally overlooked or neglected, becauſe it is indeed the moſt eaſy, natural, and obvious one. For, amidſt all the Pains that have been taken to perplex this Subject under colour of refining it, the native Meanneſs of its Original is yet too viſible to an unpreju-

dic'd Eye, to ſuffer one to doubt its being indeed the Product of Ages, whoſe Acquirements may better excite our Compaſſion, than our Envy. A Point, *Hydaſpes*, you will, I dare ſay, think ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, when you ſhall have peruſed the Recital I am going to preſent you with, of the Continuation of *Hortenſius*'s Diſcourſe to me of the Genius and Conſtitution of *falſe Theory* in Religion in the earlier Pagan World.

PART II.

YOU will ſuppoſe us met, *Hydaſpes*, and uninterrupted, as in my laſt Report: when *Hortenſius*, knowing the Biaſs of my Inclinations this way, thus voluntarily reſumed the Subject of our Inquiry.—We had, (ſaid he to me) I think, pretty well gone through the Head of the *natural* Theology of the Antients; * and were next to examine a little into the Grounds and Conſtitution of their *Symbolic*, and *Heroic* Worſhip. But before we go any farther, *Philemon*, I have a previous Point or two to mention to you, which has ſince our laſt

* See a Pamphlet intitled, *Philemon* to *Hydaſpes*, &c. Part III.

laſt Conference occaſionally ſtruck me in my private Thoughts upon this Subject. One is, to give you a Caution in regard to that part of our Inquiry which is paſt; the other, to propoſe an Amendment or Alteration of Method, which I have recollected with myſelf to be neceſſary, in what is yet to come. For the former, *Philemon*, be pleaſed then to obſerve, that, though under the Head of the *phyſical* or *natural* Theology of ancient Paganiſm, I choſe, as well for Clearneſs as Diſpatch, to throw all the ſeveral more diſtinguiſhed Articles of it into one general View, as Parts of an intire Syſtem; yet it was by no means my Intention to repreſent them to you as being all of equal, or nearly equal, Antiquity with one another; or to have you imagine, that many of them were not even of a later Date in Hiſtory, than ſome parts both of the *Symbolic* and *Heroic* Worſhip: however theſe, as you have heard, are ranked laſt in the general Diviſion of our Subject.

I AM oblig'd to you (ſaid I) *Hortenſius*, for your Care to prevent Miſtakes; though I muſt at the ſame time think your Caution here rather ſcrupulous, than neceſſary. Every one muſt be aware, that ſuch a Theology as you deſcribed could only be the Work of Time, and ſucceſſive Improvement. Common Senſe teaches one, that

that Syſtems, as the Proverb tells us of Cities, are not built in a Day. All I underſtood you to mean was, that ſuch, as you repreſented it, was, ſooner or later, the *natural* Worſhip of Paganiſm; your Point being all along to mark out the ſeveral more diſtinguiſhed Stages of its Progreſs, not to ſettle the exact Chronologic Periods of it.

I AM glad (return'd he) *Philemon*, to find you are ſo fully poſſeſt of my Meaning; which I muſt attribute, however, more to your good Judgment in the Caſe, than to my own Accuracy. But though my Caution, as I perceive, was needleſs, the Amendment I have to propoſe in our Scheme of future Inquiry is, I am ſure, a very neceſſary one. Which, in few words, *Philemon*, is this: That, in reverſe of the Order hitherto aſſigned to the two remaining Articles of our Reſearch, we firſt take into Conſideration the *Heroic* Worſhip of the *Egyptians*, and then proceed to their *Symbolic*. For this, upon better Reflection, I find to be the real, hiſtoric Order of them. Their *Symbols*, as will appear in its Place, upon the united Evidence of Fact and Reaſon, owe the whole of their prepoſterous Divinity to that of their *Heroes*; nor would ever probably have been taken into the number of the Gods, but upon the preeſtabliſh'd Apotheoſis of certain Deities of Human

Human Kind. An Hypotheſis, which, beſides the Merit of being founded in Hiſtoric Truth, has moreover the additional Recommendation of promiſing us a more natural Account of the Riſe and Progreſs of the famed *Hieroglyphic*-Science of *Egypt* in general, and of that very remarkable Conſequence hereof, its Brute-Worſhip in particular, than any of thoſe ſo differently refined Hypotheſes in the Point, which with an equally greater ſhew of Subtilty, and leſs Juſtneſs of Information, have been generally offered to the World in its ſtead.

You are doubtleſs, (interpos'd I) *Hortenſius*, the beſt Judge of the Propriety of your own Method; and have ſo much a more comprehenſive Knowledge of our preſent Subject than I can pretend to, that I ſhould have no Objection to hearing you in any way you might chooſe, even tho' I could not enter into the particular Reaſons of it. But in the Caſe now before us I can very evidently diſcern thus much at leaſt, that one well-atteſted Fact in Antiquity is worth a Volume of plauſible Conjectures about it. I am moreover in general, you know, no great Lover of Refinement; and rather, it may be, too apt to ſuſpect Deluſion, where I meet with over-much Subtilty. But more eſpecially and intirely am I for baniſhing it in Queſtions

ſtions of more ancient Hiſtory; where indeed it carries its Confutation in its own Face; and has too ſtrong Marks of Time, and of ſucceſſive Induſtry, as well as Acquiſition, upon it, to be admitted with any tolerable Grace and Probability.

FROM the Worſhip then, (reſumed *Hortenſius*) of the more illuſtrious Parts of *Nature*, let us proceed in the Hiſtory of Pagan Apotheoſis to that of *Heroes*. A Title, *Philemon*, of which I am afraid, we muſt not a little humble the uſual Loftineſs of our modern Conceptions, or we ſhall greatly exceed the true antique Standard and Quality of it. The very Sound of Heroiſm to moſt Ears carries in it ſomething great and venerable; and, if it does not immediately hurry our Thoughts into all the fond Extravagancies of *Romance*, at leaſt engages them in ſome of the more *ſhining* Periods of Hiſtory. The Founders of improved Policy; the great Maſters of Arts, or Arms; the triumphant Invaders of foreign Liberties; or the more enviable Guardians, or Reſtorers of their own national ones; theſe are ſome of thoſe glittering Images which in our advanc'd Days generally form the Character of an Hero. Hardly indeed ſhall we be brought to enter into ſo diſparaging an Idea of it, as yet Antiquity aſſures us to have been the true original one: in which

which the Occupation of an ordinary Husbandman, Thatcher, Huntſman *, or Mechanic of the moſt ſordid Claſs; a mere common Blackſmith, as *Lucian* has it, " paſſing " all his Days amidſt Sparks and Smoke †," was a ſufficient Recommendation to Heroiſm in his Life-time, and to Deification afterwards. For this, *Philemon*, was the general Practice of the ruder and more barbarous Ages; that, in the eagerneſs of a too forward Gratitude to thoſe firſt Benefactors to their Kind, who had in any Degree contributed to the better Accommodation of Life, they no ſooner ſaw them remov'd by Death from the Society and Commerce of Men, but they exalted them to that of

 the

* Απο τουτων εγένοντο ἕτεροι, ὧν ὁ μεν Αγρος εκαλεῖτο, ὁ δε Αγρουηρος η Αγροτης, ὁυ και ξοανον ειναι μαλα σεβασμιον, και ναον ζυγοφορουμενον εν Φοινικη, παρα τε Βιβλιοις εξαιρετως θεων ὁ μεγιστος ονομαζεται·—Ειτα φησι τον Υψουρανιον οικησαι Τυρον, καλυβας τε επινοησαι απο καλαμων και θρυων και παπυρων· στασιασαι δε προς τον αδελφον Ουσωον, ὁς σκεπην τω σωματι πρωτον εκ δερματων ὧν ισχυε συλλαβειν θηριων ευρε· τουτου δε τελευσαντων τους απολειφθεντας φησι ραβδους αυτοις αφιερωσαι. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. Lib. I. p. 35. Ed. Pariſ.

† Ὁμοια δε τουτοις και περι της Ηρας αδουσιν, ανευ της προς τον ανδρα ὁμιλιας, ὑπενεμιον αυτην παιδα γεννησαι τον Ηφαιστον, ου μαλα ευτυχη τουτον, αλλα Βαυαυσον, και Χαλκεα, και Πυριτην, και εν καπνω το παν Βιοῦντα, και σπινθηρων αναπλεων, ὁια δη Καμινευτην. Vid. Lucian. Op. Edit. Bourdelot. p. 184.

the Gods.* Nor was indeed the Gradation at all unſutable to the Genius of thoſe Times; that having firſt worſhipped, as we have ſeen, their *natural* Benefactors, the Sun, Moon, and Stars, in gratitude for the ſeveral *natural* Benefits derived to them from their Agency and Influence, they ſhould next pay the ſame Compliment to their *Civil* ones: who had, as it were, *improved* upon what the others had *began*; had carried their firſt beneficent Deſign into ſtill farther Execution; inlarg'd the Sphere of human Happineſs; and inſtructed their Contemporaries at once to multiply the Comforts of Life, and guard againſt the Inconveniencies inſeparable from a merely *natural* State of it.

You are for making the moſt (I interpos'd) *Hortenſius*, of your Heroes Merits, I perceive, and diſplaying them to the greateſt Advantage. Tho' after all, the Temple of Fame was, it ſhould ſeem, of much eaſier acceſs in ancient, than it is in modern Times; the ſame humble Attainments being then ſufficient to raiſe a Man to the higheſt Claſs of his Species, which now would ſcarce eſcape Contempt, even in the loweſt.

So

* Τους Αλλους κοινης τε τινος και Βιωφελους ευεργεσιας πρωαρξαντας, ζωντας τε ετι, και μετα τελευτην Θεους επεφημισαν. Euſeb. Præp. Lib. II. cap. 5. pag. 70.

So much (return'd he) *Philemon*, does a difference of Circumſtances in Things alter the real Moment, and Quality of them. We who are full of modern Ideas, and elated with the Privileges of a more advantageous Situation in Life, equally diſtant in Age, and Simplicity from the Period we are ſpeaking of, are apt to undervalue theſe ruder Beginnings, and firſt Efforts of Human Art, and Induſtry; as being ourſelves arrived at much ſuperior Refinements in the Kind. But a Merit they certainly had with thoſe who were Maſters of nothing better; and ſuch an one, as, if it was indeed greatly over-rated in the Adoration of paſt Times, would be full as much undervalued in the Contempt of the preſent. And to ſay the truth, *Philemon*, I know not, but the firſt Step gain'd from *abſolute* Ignorance and Barbariſm is in itſelf a Point of higher Importance to Mankind than any of the ſubſequent Stages of Improvement. It is perhaps a ſtronger Proof of Genius and Sagacity to have been the *Authors* of the firſt coarſe Accommodations of Life, than to have poliſhed and refined them by After-thought and Skill into much higher Degrees of Uſefulneſs and Elegancy. The one is intirely matter of original Invention; the other only improving upon Notices already received in part from without; and profiting by the Skill and Capacity of thoſe

who have lived before us. But whatever be the Merit of theſe firſt rude Artiſts with regard to later Times, they had, doubtleſs, as has been obſerv'd, a very conſiderable one in their own. Having indeed raiſed Life, if not to that Perfection of Accommodation it has ſince received, yet certainly to a much more commodious and comfortable State than they found it in; and this too at a time, when Art and Invention were Talents equally uncommon and advantageous. A Senſe of which was then ſo ſtrong upon the Minds of Men, that Apotheoſis after Death was thought but a ſutable Recompence to Perſons of ſuch extraordinary Eminence and Uſefulneſs whilſt living. Gratitude for Benefits receiv'd, *Philemon*, is a natural Reſult of that inborn Self-Love which is the great ruling Principle of Human Action. And would operate, we may eaſily imagine, with a Force unknown to us of later Days in thoſe Ages of *rude undiſguiſed* Nature, the Simplicity of which could only be equalled by their extreme Helpleſſneſs. Under ſuch Circumſtances, the ſlighteſt Services to the Public would be received with all the Rapture of the moſt important Obligation; and raiſe the Reputation of their Author to an Height ſomething more than mortal: As indeed they might well do, conſidering the low Standard of ordinary Attainments in the

ſame earlier Times. For 'tis in this view I cannot, I muſt confeſs, help looking upon the renowned Labors of the Heroic Ages, tho' generally repreſented to us by Ancients, as well as Moderns, with a Pomp of Deſcription, which might even do honor to a much more advanc'd and imbelliſh'd Period of Affairs. But the Truth is, being complimented with *Divinity* by the grateful Weakneſs of their own Times, they had both the natural Uncertainty of Tradition, and the Diſpoſition which moſt People have to heighten what they do not underſtand, to exalt them into *Wonders*, I had almoſt ſaid, *worthy* of *Divinity*, in ſucceeding Ages. Whilſt the few, who were wiſe enough to ſee through the Deluſion, were at the ſame time crafty enough to let it paſs with the reſt of the World; till they had by degrees extracted a Syſtem of refin'd and gainful Politics, out of what was at firſt mere artleſs Admiration, and ignorant Amazement.

THIS is a much more rational Account (ſaid I) *Hortenſius*, I think, of the Introduction of the Human Apotheoſis, than theirs, who are for reſolving it into the immediate Artifice of Prieſts, or Politicians. And indeed, beſides that the Reaſon of the Thing itſelf ſpeaks it to have been the Creature of Ignorance and Barbariſm; the other Opi-

nion

nion ſeems to me not very agreable to matter of Fact and Hiſtory. Every body knows, how very diſadvantageouſly the Divinity of *Alexander* and *Cæſar* ſtands differenced from that of the more antient Heroes of the fabulous Ages. And yet ſurely the Merits of theſe two celebrated Perſons were every way as equal to the Dignity of the complete Apotheoſis, as thoſe of any of their Predeceſſors in Heroiſm can be pretended to be. Nor were, I think, the Arts of Prieſtcraft and Policy ever in a more improv'd State than at the Periods here mentioned. What then is the natural Conſtruction of this ſo remarkable an Inferiority on *their* Part, but plainly, I think, this? That the Times of *Alexander* and *Cæſar* were too much inlightened to authoriſe *anew*, in its full Latitude, ſo groſs an Abſurdity in their Religion, as the Worſhip of a Fellow-Creature. I ſay to authoriſe it *anew*, *Hortenſius*. For, that they kept to a Worſhip of the ſame kind delivered down to them from their Anceſtors, was purely an Accommodation to popular Weakneſs and Prejudices; from a Senſe of the Hazard there is in undermining Foundations long laid, and a Fear of throwing the Multitude out of all Religion, by endeavouring to reſcue them from the Reproach of an irrational one. But whilſt they durſt not venture to reform the popu-

lar

lar Syſtem of Superſtition, they were ſcrupulous however of adding more Articles of Error to it. And tho' they were tender of diſgracing the Divinity of their old Heroes, they were not, it ſhould ſeem, for making the ſame raſh and unwarrantable Compliment to new ones *.

YOUR

* With how little Succeſs the Affectation of *Alexander* to be eſteemed a God was attended, even in the height of his Fame and Victories, we have abundant Evidence in Antiquity. It ſtood him in the Fatigue of a long and troubleſome Journey, beſides the Expence of ſeveral coſtly Donations to the Temple, and Prieſts of the *Libyan Jupiter*, to be nominally *proclaimed* for ſuch; the ſerious *Belief* of his Divinity was what he was by no means able to eſtabliſh—Igitur *Alexander* cupiens divinam Originem acquirere, (ſays *Juſtin*) ſimul et Matrem infamiâ liberare, per præmiſſos ſubornat Antiſtites, quid ſibi reſponderi velit. Ingredientem Templum ſtatim Antiſtites, ut *Hammonis* Filium ſalutant. Comitibus quoque ſuis reponſum, ut *Alexandrum* pro *Deo*, non pro *Rege*, colerent. Juſtin. Lib. xi. cap. 11. How ſlender a regard was paid to the Mercenary, not to add (what appears both from *Diodorus*'s and *Plutarch*'s Account of the Matter) equivocal Compliment of the Oracle upon this Occaſion, appears from our Heroe's own Account of the Anſwer he had received from *Philotas*, upon firſt giving him notice of it—Hic quum ſcripſiſſem ei, pro jure tam familiaris amicitiæ, qualis ſors edita eſſet *Jovis Hammonis* Oraculo, ſuſtinuit reſcribere mihi, ſe quidem gratulari quod in numerum Deorum relatus eſſem; ceterum Miſereri Eorum quibus vivendum eſſet ſub eo, qui modum hominis excederet. Quint. Curt. Lib. vi. 27. The ſame Author informs us of the ſtinging Reproach offered to *Alexander*, upon his affecting Divine Honors, by *Hermolaus*, in the following

YOUR Obſervation (return'd he) *Philemon*, is certainly a very juſt one. Prieſts and

lowing Words——Tu *Macedonas* voluiſti genua tibi ponere, venerarique te ut Deum. Tu *Philippum* Patrem averſaris, et ſi quis Deorum ante *Jovem* haberetur, faſtidires etiam *Jovem*. Miraris, ſi liberi homines ſuperbiam tuam ferre non poſſumus? Quint. Curt. Lib. viii. cap. 26. They had ſtill leſs reaſon to indure the Vanity of *Alexander* here, if they were aware, as *Plutarch* tells us ſome repreſented the Caſe, that the whole Pretence upon which he founded his Title to Adoration was a miſtaken Pronunciation of the *Greek* Language by the Prieſt who preſided at the time of his *Libyan* Expedition in the Temple of *Jupiter*.—Επειδε διεξελθων την ερημον ηκεν εις την ωολιν, ὁ μεν ωροφητης αυτον ὁ Αμμωνος απο του θεου χαιρειν, ὡς απο ωατρος, ωροσειπεν· ὁ δε επηρετο μητις αυτον ειη διαπεφευγως των του ωατρος φονεων; ευφημειν δε του ωροφητου καλεσαντος, (ου γαρ ειναι ωατερα ζωντον αυτω) μεταβαλλων επυνθανετο κ τ λ——ενιοι δε φασιν, τον μεν ωροφητην Ελληνιστι βουλομενον προσειπειν, μετα τινος φιλοφροσυνης; Ω ωαιδιον; ευ τω τελευταιω των φθογγων ὑπο βαρβαρισμου προς το σιγμα εξενεχθηναι, και ειπειν; Ω ωαιδιος, αντι του ν το σ χρησαμενον· ασμενω δε τω Αλεξανδρω το σφαλμα της φωνης γενεσθαι, και διαδοθηναι λογον, ὡς ωαιδα Διος αυτον του θεου ωροσειποντος· Plut. in Alex. p. 680. Ed. Xyl. What the wiſer, and diſintereſted Part of the *Romans*, thought of *Cæſar*'s Divinity, the following Paſſages will ſufficiently inform us—Prægravant tamen cætera Facta, ut abuſus Dominatione, et jure Cæſus exiſtimetur. Non enim honores modo nimios recepit, ſed et ampliora humano faſtigio decerni ſibi paſſus eſt. Sedem auream in curiâ, et pro Tribunali. Thenſam et Ferculum Circenſi Pompâ. Templa, Aras, Simulachra juxta Deos,

and Politicians have both of them real Corruptions enough to anſwer for, without being charged with imaginary ones. 'Tis a great Miſtake to think, that they firſt *taught Men Superſtition.* That would probably have been a Strain of Art beyond the Compaſs of their moſt refin'd and ſubtil Politics. Nor was it any way to their purpoſe to attempt this, when they could carry their Point full as ſucceſsfully, and much more eaſily with Mankind, by dealing with them as already *inſtructed to their hands.* They indeed found them abundantly *ſelf-taught* in the Buſineſs of Superſtition. The Seeds of Religion were either

Deos, Pulvinar, Flaminem, Lupercos, appellationem Menſis e ſuo Nomine. Suet. in Jul. Cæſ. cap. 76.—To the ſame purpoſe *Florus*—Itaque non ingratis Civibus omnes honores unum in principem congeſti. Circa Templa imagines, in Theatro diſtincta radiis Corona, Suggeſtus in Curiâ, Faſtigium in Domo, Menſis in Cœlo—quæ omnia velut infulæ in deſtinatam Morti victimam congerebantur, Flor. Lib. iv. cap. 2. *Cicero* ſpeaks yet more plainly the Senſe of his Time as to this Point—An me cenſetis, Patres Conſcripti, quod vos inviti ſecuti eſtis, decreturum fuiſſe, ut Parentalia cum Supplicationibus miſcerentur? Ut inexpiabiles Religiones in Rempublicam inducerentur? ut decernerentur Supplicationes Mortuo? nihil dico Cui. fuerit ille Lucius Brutus, &c. — Adduci tamen non poſſum, ut quenquam Mortalium conjungerem cum immortalium Religione. Phil. i. 6. Ed. Græv. and elſewhere, Eſt ergo Flamen, ut *Jovi*, ut *Marti*, ut *Quirino*, ſic Divo *Julio* M. *Antonius?* —Quæres placeatne mihi Pulvinar Eſſe, Faſtigium, Flaminem? mihi vero nihil iſtorum placet. Phil. ii. 43.

by the Hand of Nature or Tradition ſown thick in the Breaſt of every Man. And though for want of proper Care and Culture they might not yield the good Produce they were intended to do, they would not however fail to ſpring up in ſome wilder Species of a leſs valuable Fruitfulneſs; as was, it muſt be confeſs'd, too generally the Caſe. Now here properly came in the Art and Addreſs of the Hierarch, and the Stateſman. He was to fall in with the particular Vogue and Caſt of popular Deluſion in this kind; to cheriſh the prevailing Weakneſs of the Multitude; and by a dexterous Conduct and Application of public Failings to turn the Biaſs of them to his own private Ends and Intereſts. And accordingly, as under the Head of the natural Theology we had occaſion, you may remember, to obſerve the Courſe of Superſtition in that Channel, advancing gradually from popular Weakneſs into Philoſophic Syſtem; ſo here again we ſhall obſerve a parallel Gradation in the Progreſs of Heroic-Worſhip: in which, as will be ſhewn, what began in the Simplicity of a few artleſs funeral Ceremonies, and more obvious Tokens of Concern for the Loſs of a late departed Benefactor, was in a Succeſſion of Time and Politics wrought up into all the gainful Intricacies, and elaborated Horrors, of a *periodical*, and *more ſolemnly Religious*,

Religious, Myſtery. And here, *Philemon*, we may in paſſing take notice of the very different Turns of Error in the ſame Subject. By one Set of Men, whatever was amiſs in Religious Paganiſm, the *Prieſthood* in thoſe Days is immediately charged with being the Authors of it. Whilſt by thoſe of another Stamp the *Prieſthood* is made to have no ſhare in theſe Corruptions, but the whole blame is full as unjuſtly placed to the account of *Philoſophy*. And, for fear we ſhould be too free with Reaſon in Subjects of Religion, we are told, that from this *ſole Principle* ſprang all the Abſurdities of a religious kind that ever prevailed in Antiquity. They had their Birth in the Refinements of conceited Rationaliſts; were the Product of pretended Speculation and Philoſophic Inquiries into the Nature of Things; and aroſe from a certain Infidel Humor, as prevalent in antient as modern Times, of oppoſing Science to Faith, and Reaſoning to Tradition*. It was a great *Ge-*

*If we examine, we ſhall ſee, that from the Beginning to the preſent Times, it has always been a vain Philoſophy, and an Affectation of *Science falſely ſo called*, that has corrupted Religion. Shuck. Con. Vol. I. p. 318. Compare with this, Con. Vol. II. p. 290, 291. They (Men of the firſt Parts) fell into theſe Errors, not by paying too great a Deference to Tradition, and pretended Revelation, but even by attempting to ſet up what they thought a reaſonable Scheme of Religion, diſtinct from, or in oppoſition to, what Tradition had handed down to them. Shuck. Con. vol. II. p. 305. See alſo p. 306.

Their

nius and *Aſtronomer* amongſt the *Egyptians*, 'tis ſaid, " thinking to ſpeculate, and hap-" pening to think wrong," who firſt ſeduced his Countrymen into the Infatuation of *Sabiiſm*. And in conſequence of his Aſtronomic Science taught them that Worſhip upon Principles of *Art*, which they were, I ſhould think, fully qualified to learn, without his Inſtructions, from the Simplicity of *Rude Nature* *. And the ſame fruitful Source of Error and Miſbelief, purſued yet farther in After-Ages, gave riſe, it is maintained, to all the ſubſequent Articles of their increaſing Polytheiſm †. In order to make out which Hypotheſis, *Philemon*, Syſtems of Philoſophic Refinement even of the *loweſt* Date in Pagan Antiquity ſhall be made the Ground-work of Idolatries of the higheſt. Salvos and Apologies for eſtabliſh'd Errors ſhall be conſidered as the original Cauſes and Reaſons of their Eſtabliſhment. Palliating and Accommodation be ſtrain'd into Proofs of ſtrict Philoſophic Sentiment. Tolerating interpreted to mean the ſame thing with Inſtituting. Till,

Their great and learned Men erred not for want of *Free-thinking*, ſuch as they called ſo; but their Opinions were in direct oppoſition to the true Revelations which had been made to the World, and might be called the Deiſm of thoſe Ages. Shuck. vol. II. p. 460.

* See Shuck. Con. vol. I. p. 318.

† See Shuck. Con. vol. II. p. 278-9, and following ones.

Till, as if there was nothing of Policy in the Caſe, but all was genuine Miſtake and Deluſion, it ſhall at laſt be aſſerted, " that " there never was any thing ſo extrava- " gant or ridiculous in Religion, but Men " of the firſt Parts, and eminent for their " natural Strength of Underſtanding, " when left wholly to themſelves, have " been deceiv'd to imbrace and defend it*." Such merely *ſplendid Weakneſs*, it ſeems, was the moſt improved State of natural Reaſon, unaſſiſted by the additional Guidance of Revelation. And ſo *uncandid* a Cenſurer was the great Apoſtle of theſe Gentiles, when he reproached them with a Criminal Neglect, or Suppreſſion of *that which was*, in this account, *not to be known* by them *of God*, previouſly to any ſupernatural Diſcovery of him†. But in Truth, *Philemon*, and Syſtems apart, neither Prieſts, I believe, nor Philoſophers, were properly the Authors of the Pagan Superſtitions. They were the genuine Offspring of popular Rudeneſs and Ignorance. And if Philoſophy did not do all it might have done towards giving Men juſter Apprehenſions of things, it was, becauſe it either wanted Courage to oppoſe the Cheat, or was often adminiſter'd by hands too deeply intereſted in it; and affords us, I am afraid, a much more juſti-

fiable

* See Shuck. Con. vol. II. from p. 278, to 307.
† See Rom. i. v. 19.

fiable Preſumption of Cowardice, or Corruption in the Hearts of its Profeſſors, than of any Want of competent Information in their Underſtandings.

If Accommodations (I interrupted) *Hortenſius*, to popular Prejudices are any Proofs of being oneſelf in the common Deluſion, even the Light of Revelation has been of no very eminent Advantage in point of Religious Inſtruction to a great part of the more knowing Chriſtian World. For are not Chriſtians at this day, in a certain Communion I could name, tolerated in Superſtitions, which might have almoſt conteſted the Preeminence of Abſurdity with the groſſeſt Pagan ones? To ſay here that many things are not ſuffered to paſs with the Multitude, of which the Learned evidently perceive the Ridicule, is making a Compliment to their Sincerity, at a much greater Diſgrace to their Penetration, than they themſelves would generally, I believe, be thankful for. And thus without doubt ſtood the Fact in Philoſophic Antiquity. For the Nature of Mankind, and Reaſons of Policy, have been always, I ſuppoſe, pretty nearly the ſame. Seriouſly a Man muſt read the Writings of the antient Theiſtic Philoſophers (and ſuch only can this Queſtion concern) with a very perverſe Comment, who does not ſee, that they *knew* much better, than they ſometimes

times found it prudent to *teach*; and were every way qualified to have given the World a competently rational Theory of Religion, if they had not found them already in poſſeſſion of a traditionary one of a very different Genius; and from the Danger of unſettling Eſtabliſhments, and letting in Light upon weak Eyes, been led to turn their Thoughts rather to the palliating, than the Reforming Side in this Affair. And indeed were not the moſt undoubted Patrons of Revelation ſo fond of this Hypotheſis, *Hortenſius*, one would wonder what poſſible Advantage to their Cauſe they could propoſe from it. To me it ſeems to be not more undermining the Principles and Foundation of natural Religion, than it is thereby taking away the *only ſure* Teſt and Criterion of the Merit of Revealed. For if Men have *no* previous natural Notices of a Supreme Being by which to judge of what *may*, or *may not*, be ſuppoſed to come from him in a way of more extraordinary Communication, the Credit of all pretended Revelations is manifeſtly put upon the ſame Footing. Every thing is to be received as a Revelation, which a confident Enthuſiaſt or Impoſtor may call ſuch: or rather the very Suppoſition itſelf of *any ſuch thing* is render'd abſurd and ridiculous.

It would carry us (return'd he) too much out of our way at preſent, *Philemon*, to enter into a more particular Cenſure of this Hypotheſis. Its Aim doubtleſs is to inhance the *Value* of Revelation, by evincing the *abſolute Neceſſity* of it. But, beſides that Men ſhould be cautious how they compliment Revelation into this ſuppoſed Neceſſity at the Expence of its own proper Evidences; the Term Neceſſity here is, I think, too *ſtrong* an one. Expediency is all that is wanted in the Caſe, and all that either Reaſon, or indeed Fact, ſeems to juſtify the Aſſertion of. For look into the ſubject Matter of the Revelation contended for, and you will find, that the greateſt part of what are properly new Diſcoveries in it are rather Inforcements *of* natural Religion, than Additions *to* it. For the reſt, it teaches little more than what had been taught before. But then it has the Advantage of teaching it with an Authority peculiar to itſelf; and in a manner ſo much more ſutable to the Ends of popular Improvement, as to give it an undiſputed Superiority to every *human* Method of Inſtruction. But this, as I ſaid, is a matter beyond our preſent Compaſs. Nor need we indeed entertain ſo raiſed an Idea of Philoſophic Antiquity, as is here contended for, to ſatisfy ourſelves, that the particular Error in Religious Paganiſm we are now conſidering

ſidering, the Worſhip of the antient Heroes, was not inſtituted from that Quarter. It had in truth ſo very little of Philoſophy in it at its firſt Appearance in the World, that the ſubtile Induſtry of Mythologiſts, exerciſing itſelf probably for Ages together to this end, could with Difficulty form it to a Philoſophic Air and Aſpect even in its lateſt Periods. No, *Philemon*; the Workings of undiſciplined Nature are a much better Account of the Origin of Hero-Worſhip, than any Stratagems of Art or Politics. Philoſophy of the humbleſt kind could not but have remonſtrated to ſuch a palpable Abſurdity; and muſt have been too ſenſibly ſtruck with its Confutation, to have projected its Eſtabliſhment. The moſt that Policy could accompliſh in the Caſe was, as appears from the Hiſtory of later Deifications of this kind, to extort a formal Teſtimony of Apotheoſis from the conſtrained and flattering Voices of the People, not to procure a real and affectionate Adoration from their Hearts *. And to compliment its Heroes

* Jamque omnibus præparatis, Ratus (Alexander) quod olim pravâ mente conceperat, tunc eſſe maturum, quonam modo cœleſtes honores uſurparet cœpit agitare. Jovis filium non tantum dici ſe, ſed etiam credi volebat. Tanquam perinde *animis* imperare poſſet, ac *Linguis*. Itaque more Perſarum Macedonas venerabundos ipſum ſalutare proſternentes humi corpora juſſit. Non deerat talia concupiſcenti pernicioſa adulatio, perpetuum Malum Regum, quorum opes ſæpius aſſentatio quam Hoſtis evertit. Quint. Curt. Lib. VIII. cap. 17.

into the empty Title of Divinity, without obtaining for them either the hearty Perſuaſion, or the more ſubſtantial Honors of it. Theſe had been long appropriated to thoſe Heroes of remoter Antiquity, who lived in happier Times for an Advancement of this nature *. For that their Advancement

* Και τοι μεγαλα μεν ὑμνουνται πραξεις ευ Ασσυριοις Σεμιραμιος· μεγαλαι δε αἱ Σεσωστριος εν Αιγυπτῳ· Κυρος δε Περσας, Μακεδονας δε Αλεξανδρος, ολιγου δειν επι περας της γης κρατουντας προηγαγον· αλλα ονομα και μνημην Βασιλεων αγαθων εχουσιν· ει δε τινες εξαρθεντες ὑπο μεγαλαυχιας, ὡς φησιν ὁ Πλατων, ἁμα νεοτητι και αγνοια, φλεγομενοι την ψυχην, μεθ' ὑβρεως εδεξαντο θεων επωνυμιας, και ναων ἱδρυσεις, Βραχυν ηνθησεν ἡ δοξα χρονον· ειτα κενοτητα, και αλαζονειαν, μετα ασεβειας, και παρανομιας, προσοφλοντες·

Ωκυμοροι, καπνοιο δικην, αρθεντες απεπταν καιννν, ὡστερ αγωγιμοι δραπεται, των ἱερων και των Βωμων αποσπασθεντες, ουδεν αλλ' ἡ τα μνηματα και τους ταφους εχουσιν. Plutarch. de Iſide & Oſiride, pag. 360. We have a remarkable Example of this in the Inſtance of *Semiramis* recorded in *Lucian*'s Treatiſe of the *Syrian* Goddeſs. Ευ αριστερῃ του νεω Σεμιραμιος ξοανον εστηκε, εν δεξιῃ του νηον επιδεικνυουσης· ανεστη δε δι' αιτιην τοιηνδε· ανθρωποισι, ὁκοσοι Συριην οικεουσι, νομον εποιεετο ἑωυτην μεν ὁκως θεον ἱλασκεσθαι, θεων δε των αλλων, και αυτης Ἡρας αλογεειν· και ὡδε εποιεον· μετα δε, ὡς ὁι θεοθεν αφικοντο νουσοι τε, και συμφορη, και αλγεα, μανιης μεν εκεινης απεπαυσατο, και θνητην ἑωυτην ὁμολογεε, και τοισι ὑπηκοοισι αυθις εκελευεν ες Ἡρην τρεπεσθαι· τουνεκα δη ετι τοιηδε ανεστηκε, τοισι απικνεομενοισι την Ἡρην ἱλασκεσθαι δεικνυουσα, και θεου ουκ ἑωυτην, αλλ' εκεινην ὁμολογεουσα. Lucian. de

ment was indeed the immediate Recompence after Death of their well-timed Labors and Services to their Contemporaries in the Courſe of their Lives is with me, I muſt confeſs, a matter beyond all reaſonable Doubt or Contradiction. Nor can I ever bring myſelf to ſubſcribe to their Hypotheſis, who contend, that the firſt Hero Gods of the *Egyptians*, (the great Leaders, you know, in Theologic Paganiſm) were not deified upon their Deceaſe by the warm Gratitude of their ſurviving Countrymen; but by the Artifice of intriguing Stateſmen many Centuries afterwards *.

THIS is ſurely (ſaid I) a very unnatural way of thinking, to place the Recompence of their Benefactions in an Age ſo much below the Date of them. When the very Memory of what they had performed muſt

 have

de Syr. Deâ, p. 1072-3. *Lyſippus* ſpoke the Senſe of many People as well as his own, when he profeſſed to deſpiſe *Alexander* as a God, though he honored him as a Man. Ευ δε και Λυσιππος ὁ πλαστης Απελλην εμεμψατο του ζωγραφου, ὁτι την Αλεξανδρου γραφων εικονα, κεραυνον ενεχειρισεν· αυτος δε λοῖχην, ἣς την δοξαν ουδε εἰς αφαιρησεται χρονος, αληθινην και ιδιαν ουσαν. Plut. ub. ſup. p. 360.

* In time they (the *Egyptians*) looked over the Catalogue of their Anceſtors, and appointed a Worſhip for ſuch as had been more eminently famous in their Generations. Shuck. Con. Vol. I. p. 336. The ſame Thought is purſued and explained more at large in vol. II. from p. 281, to 292.

have been in a great meaſure extinguiſhed, or retained only in ſuch a confuſed and general way, as to be but a weak Foundation for that Perſonal Regard and Gratitude, without which, Politicians would ſcarce have been able to have procured them ſuch high Marks of Honor and Diſtinction. Beſides that, had their particular Services been ever ſo well remembered, ſtill it ſhould be conſidered, that Life had now been long improving; and the ſuperior Skill and Refinements of ſucceeding Ages muſt have in a great Degree eclipſed the Merit of their weaker Obligations.

To what different Concluſions, I cannot help remarking here (returned *Hortenſius*) will the very ſame Principles lead Men, according to the different Views they have in applying them? Time, *Philemon*, which you eſteem ſo much an Enemy to our Heroes Glory, is in the Conſtruction of this Hypotheſis made to have been the chief Friend to it. And inſtead of eraſing, as you ſeem to apprehend, their Memory, becomes the immediate Inſtrument of their Apotheoſis. For whilſt indeed it preſerved but little of their true Character, it infinitely over-paid their Loſs in the ſuperior Advantages it gave them of an imaginary Reputation. Improving the want of authentic Records of real Benefactions into

a pompous Regiſter of fabulous ones; and raiſing at once the Credit of their Services from Fact to Fiction, and of themſelves from Earth to Heaven *. For *thus* only, we are told, could they ever have arrived at this Advancement. " The Fame of " deceaſed Perſons" being, it ſeems, a Plant of ſuch ſlow Improvement, that it " muſt " have Ages to grow up to Heaven: And " Divine Honors being not with any tole- " rable Decency to be given to them, but " but by a late Poſterity †."

A

* See Shuck. Con. Vol. II. p. 286.

† See as before, p. 287. The Learned Writer upon this Occaſion ſupports his Hypotheſis by the Teſtimony of *Plutarch* in the ſeveral Caſes, as above repreſented, of *Semiramis*, *Seſoſtris*, *Cyrus*, and *Alexander*. Upon which he obſerves, " that whenever " any of theſe Perſons affected Divinity, they ſunk " inſtead of raiſing their Character by it; their " Story was too modern to permit them to be Gods." It had not enough of Extravagancy and Romance in it to raiſe them to the Dignity of the Apotheoſis; a fabulous Fame being ſuppoſed here a neceſſary Condition to a divine one. And accordingly *Plutarch* is introduced contending that the ſeveral Hero Gods of the *Egyptians* were *Genii*, and not Men, as conceiving them to have been *of a Power and Nature more than Mortal.* Βελτιον ουν οἱ τα περι τον Τυφωνα, και Οσιριν, και Ισιν, ἱστορουμενα, μητε θεων ειναι νομιζοντες, μητε ανθρωπων, αλλα Δαιμονων μεγαλων ειναι νομιζοντες· Concerning whom it is afterwards obſerved, that they were eſteemed to be, ερρωμενεστερους ανθρωπων, το δε Θειον ουκ αμιγες ουδε ακρατον εχοντας, αλλα και ψυχης φυσεως και σωματος

A SIMILE (ſaid I) *Hortenſius*, is, you know, with many People a much more diſ-

ματος αισθησεως συνειληχοτας, ἡδονην δεχομενης και πονον, και οσα ταυταις γινομενα ταις μεταβολαις παθη τους μεν μαλλον, τους δ' ηττον επιταρατ]ειν. Plut. de Iſide et Oſiride, p. 360. But whoever takes in the Context in this Place, and attends to the full Scope and Purport of *Plutarch*'s Reaſoning here, will find, that the true Motive to his making Demons or middle Natures of the *Egyptian* Heroes was not their being repreſented to have acted above the ordinary Powers of *Men*, but below all rational Conceptions of *Gods*—Ει ταυτα περι της μακαριας και αφθαρτου φυσεως, καθ' ἣν μαλιστα νοειται το Θειον, ὡς αληθως πραχθεντα και συμπεσοντα δοξαζουσι και λεγουσι, αποπ]υσαι δει̃ και καθηρασθαι το στομα, κατ' Αισχυλον. Plut. ubi ſup. p. 358. This was the Difficulty on one Side of the Queſtion. And on the other, to go into the Scheme of *Euhemerus* the *Meſſenian*, and reduce the whole Syſtem of Hero-Gods to certain mere common Men of the firſt Ages, after they had been long in poſſeſſion of a much higher Character; this, it was thought, was making too free with eſtabliſhed Opinions, and, as moſt Men were apt to confound their own educational Prejudices about Religion with Religion itſelf, might be opening a Door to Atheiſm—Οκνω δε μη τουτο η τα ακινητα κινειν, και πολεμειν ου τω χρονω πολλω, κατα Σιμωνιδην, μονον, πολλοις δε ανθρωπων εθνεσι και γενεσι κατοχοις ὑπο της προς τους θεους τουτους ὁσιοτητος, ουδεν απολιποντας του εξ ουρανου μεταφερειν επι γην ονοματα τηλικαυτα, και τιμην και πιστιν ολιγου δει̃ ἁπασιν εκ πρωτης γενεσεως ενδεδυκυ̃ιαν εξισταναι και αναλευειν, μεγαλας μεν τω αθεω λεω κλησιαδας ανοιγεντας, και εξανθρωπιζοντι τα θεια. The Medium therefore approved by our Philoſopher upon this Occaſion was, as we ſay, that of conſider-

ing

diſpatchful Method of Conviction, than a dry Piece of Reaſoning. And yet, methinks, to purſue a little the Compariſon before us, could we but happily find out a proper Soil and Seaſon for the Purpoſe, the Plant we are ſpeaking of might have a much quicker Growth than is here ſuppoſed. For, may we not conſider Fame in the intelligent World as in ſome reſpects of the Nature of what are called Annuals in the vegetable? 'tis not perhaps a common Cultivation that will produce it. Happier Seaſons, a more improved Receptacle, and much additional Power of Sunſhine are neceſſary to its ſucceſsful Propagation. But under theſe Advantages it is much ſooner raiſed to its Perfection than many a Plant of an humbler Species. And thus, *Hortenſius*, with your leave, I would anſwer, as I think is the moſt ſuitable way, one Simile with another. For the more ſerious Part of the Argument, the greater *Decency* here aſcribed to a late Deification; that, I muſt own, ſeems

ing the ſeveral Divinities of the Heroic Claſs as ſo many middle Natures between Gods and Men. Βελτιον ουν κτλ· See Plutarch de Iſide, &c. p. 359, 360. The Embaraſs which the wiſer Antients were under as to this Matter is thus excellently repreſented by our Author in the Sequel of this Treatiſe—— Πως ουν χρηστεον εστι ταις σκυθρωποις, και αγελαστοις, και πεπθιμοις θυσιαις, ει μητε παραλιπειν τα νενομισμενα καλως εχει, μητε φυρειν τας περι θεων δοξας και συνταρατ̃ειν ὑποψιαις ατοποις; De Iſide, p. 378.

ſeems to me to lie wholly on the ſide of an early one. For ſurely they who lived under the actual Senſe and Feeling of our Heroes Benefactions had a much better Apology to offer for the Worſhip of them, than ſuch as were ſituated in Life equally below the Reach, and the Memory, of the firſt Heroic Labors. And who therefore to the Guilt of authoriſing, as is here ſuppoſed, the *Practice* of the human Apotheoſis, muſt have added the Aggravation of truſting altogether to fabulous Tradition, and the doubtful Reports of common Fame, for the very Reaſons of it.

We will then proceed (reſumed *Hortenſius*) upon this Point as ſufficiently confirmed to us both from Reaſon and Hiſtory; that the proper Inſtitution of Heroic-Worſhip was the Work of remoter Antiquity. For theparticular Modification, and Conduct of this kind of Worſhip, we muſt have recourſe to the *Egyptian* Formularies. Hiſtorians are, I think, univerſally agreed, that " the " *Egyptians* were the firſt of Mankind who " were known to have been acquainted " both with the Names and Hiſtories of the " chief Hero-Gods of Paganiſm *." As indeed

* Πρωτοι μεν ων ανθρωπων, των ημεις ιδμεν, Αιγυπτιοι λεγονται θεων τε εννοιην λαβειν.—Πρωτοι δε και ονοματα ιρα εγνωσαν, και λογους ιρους ελεξαν. Lucian

indeed they might very naturally be, conſidering that the original Subjects of them were themſelves *Egyptians*; had been perſonally reſident in *Egypt*; and, in the ſeveral Cities to which they had given both Being and Names, left many ſtanding Monuments of their once more immediate Power and Preſence in this Country *. In conſequence of which ſo near and national a Relation to Divinity, the *Egyptians* are ſaid to have been the Original Authors of a public Divine Worſhip: To have inſtituted from the earlieſt Memory amongſt themſelves the Practice of ſtated Meetings, Proceſſions, and Solemnities of a Religious kind; and to have given the Example of ſuch periodical Obſervances, and more pompous and ſplendid Superſtitions, to moſt other Parts of the Pagan World †. To them there-

F fore

Lucian de Syr. Deâ, p. 1057. Σχεδον δε και παντα τα ονοματα των θεων εξ Αιγυπτου εληλυθε ες την Ἑλλαδα. Herod. Lib. 2. cap. 50. Ed. Steph.

* Της πασης οικουμενης (φασιν Αιγυπτιοι) κατα μουην την Αιγυπτου ειναι πολεις πολλας ὑπο των αρχαιων θεων εκτισμενας, οἱον Διος, Ἡλιου, Ἑρμου, Απολλωνος, Πανος, Ειλειθυιας, αλλων πλειονων. Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. 1. p. 12.

† Πανηγυριας δε αρα και πομπας και προσαγωγας πρωτοι ανθρωπων Αιγυπτιοι εισι οἱ ποιησαμενοι· και παρα τουτων Ἑλληνες μεμαθηκασι· Herod. Lib. 2. cap. 42. Πρωτοι μεν ων ανθρωπων, των ἡμεις ἱδμεν, Αιγυπτιοι λεγονται και ἱρα εισασθαι, και τεμενεα, και πανηγυρias αποδεξαι· Lucian. de Syr. Deâ, p. 1057.

fore let us here apply ourſelves, *Philemon*; and from a careful Attention to what they are reported to have practiſed in the Worſhip of their two principal Hero-Deities, *Oſiris*, and *Iſis*, form a kind of Theory, or general Idea in our Minds of the Quality of Hero-Worſhip at large. For which Antiquity gives us, I may obſerve, a ſufficient Warrant, when it informs us, as its own Judgment in the Caſe, that ſome of the moſt celebrated Inſtances of *Heroic* Superſtition in different Ages, and Countries, were but the *adopted Rites* of the two Divinities juſt mentioned *: An Evidence this, in the loweſt Conſtruction of it, that they were at leaſt the ſame in kind, if not ſtrictly ſuch in Subſtance. All of them, (what, I believe, we might venture to aſſert of every Inſtance of Heroic-Worſhip without reſerve) founded in the ſame general Reaſons and Principles, and partaking upon the whole of one common Purpoſe, Deſign, and Sentiment. The Character which Antiquity has preſerved to us of the *Egyptian Oſiris* and *Iſis* is, that they were

a

* Την μεν γαρ Οσιριδος τελετην τη Διονυσου την αυτην ειναι, την δε της Ισιδος της Δημητρος ὁμοιοτατην ὑπαρχειν, των ονοματων μονον ενηλλαγμενον· Diod. Sic. Lib. 1. p. 86. Εισι δε ειοι Βυβλιων, ὁι λεγουσι παρα σφισι τεθαφθαι τον Οσιριν του Αιγυπτιον· και τα παθεα, και τα οργια, ουκ ες Αδωνιν, αλλ' ες Οσιριν παντα πεπησεσθαι. Lucian. de Syr. Deâ, p. 1058.

a very early King and Queen of *Egypt*, whoſe Reign was one continued Series of public Benefactions, and Services both to their Kingdom, and Neighbourhood *. Or, what is probably the more literal Truth of their Caſe, they were two very active, benevolent, and public-ſpirited Perſons at the Head of a Colony in *Egypt*, at the Time of its firſt Peopling; who taught many uſeful Inventions and Accommodations of Life, as well to thoſe who were immediate Sharers with them in the Occupation of their new Territory, as to ſuch of the neighboring Clans, and alike recent Settlements round about them, as either wanted, or would partake of their Aſſiſtance. I pretend not to adjuſt the preciſe Chronology of our *Egyptian* Heroes, *Philemon*; or to enter into a Queſtion, the Intricacies of which have long baffled the Induſtry of the ableſt Inquirers to determine: and which perhaps is beſt determined after all, if one may be allowed to ſpeak ſo, by being left to that impenetrable Obſcurity it is found in. For ſuch ſurely muſt be thought its Caſe, when the Times and Characters of the two celebrated Perſons we are ſpeaking of have been

* Ταυτην δε λεγουσι (την Ισιν) γημαντα τον Οσιριν, και την Βασιλειαν διαδεξαμενον πολλα πραξαι προς ευεργεσιαν του κοινου βιου. Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. 1. p. 13.

as confidently, as ſeverally, conteſted to fall in with all thoſe of *Ham**, *Miſraim*†, *Eſau*‡, and

* See *Marſham*'s Chron. Can. p. 30. 31.

† See Shuck. Con. Vol. I. p. 205, and following ones.

‡ See Reflexions Critiques ſur les Hiſtoires des anciens Peuples par Mr. Fourmont, Vol. I. Liv. 2. chap. 13. Je dis donc, et je ſoutiens ce que toute la terre a ignorée, qu'il n'y a jamais eu d'autre *Oſiris*, qu' Eſau, Fils de Sadid, c'eſt à dire de Δευς, ou d'Iſaac. p. 104. La Montagne de Seir, ou il fit ſa demeure particuliere lui donna le nom de *Hoſcheiri* ou *Oſiri*, l'habitant, c'eſt à dire le Prince de Seir. p. 107. This Author is a great Clearer of Difficulties in the Chronology of the Heroic Ages. He has an Art of reducing almoſt all the Hero Gods of the Pagan World to the Family of *Abraham*. He is ſo fond of this Hypotheſis, that he knows not how ſufficiently to applaud himſelf for the Invention of it. On trouve bien, ſays he, que Jupiter eſt fils de Kronos, que Kronos étoit fils d'Ouranos, et celui ci fils d'Acmon. Mais, *une choſe etonnante*, jamais aucunMythologiſte a-t-il oſé dire qu'il ſavoit la Cauſe de ces denominations? *Je dis moi que les voici decouvertes, et de plus Hiſtoriquement.* Tharé a eu pluſieurs noms; entre autre celui de Tharé, celui d'Azar, &c. Son nom patronimique eſt Ουρανος, Ouranos; c'eſt en Syrien Ourano, Ourien, ou l'homme de Our. *Rien de plus ſenſé*, il y habitoit. Reflex. Crit. p. 63. *Kronos*, mot que les Latins ont traduit par *Saturnus*, en Chaldeen et en Syrien ne ſignifie-t-il pas encore l'homme de *Charan*, ou le Charanien? et ce Charanien eſt il autre qu' *Abraham?* Voila donc encore l'origine, & *l'origine indubitable* du nom de Kronos. Reflex. p. 64. Les Interpretes conviennent preſque tous que c'eſt le veritable nom de Sara, (Iſkah.) ce nom eſt il bien eloigné de celui d'Iſis? p. 88. Lorſque Abraham eut voulu ſacrifier ſon fils, l'hiſtoire ſcûe dans toute la contrée le fit appeller Sadid, en Arabe

Seſoſtris *. Whilſt an Hypotheſis more modern than all of theſe, and full as ſanguine as any of them, denies both our Heroes themſelves, and the whole Family of Heroic Divinities from them, to have had any real hiſtorical Age, or even Exiſtence at all. Gives them neither a higher, nor a more ſubſtantial Pedigree, than the mere Corruptions, and Miſtakes of the Hieroglyphic Language of Antiquity. Degrades them from once living and human, into a Set of merely ideal and figurative Perſonages. Makes them the Characters not of Men, but Things:

Arabe & en Phenicien ligatus. Mais Ζευς eſt il Sadid? oüi: & ceci même devient un denoüement pour l'Hiſtoire du Monde la plus Embaraſſante. Juſqu'ici on a tiré Zeus de Ζεω brouillir, ou de Ζωω vivre. Mais enfin il reſtoit un ſcrupule; Pour Ζευς les anciens diſoient auſſi, Σδευς, ou même Δευς. Et ce Δευς pouvoit venir également de δεω ligo. Une marque même que ζεω dans les premiers tems de la Grece ſignifioit lier, c'eſt que de ce verbe inuſité etoit deſcendu le diminutif ζωω, d'ou ζωνη ζωννυω ceindre, en Latin Zona. *Il eſt donc clair comme le Jour*, que δευς a ſignifié ligatus, conſtrictus. Reflexions Crit. Vol. I. p. 96. The ſame Author proves in much the ſame manner that *Typhon* is *Jacob*, and *Ceres*, *Keturah*, and *Proſerpine*, a Daughter of *Abraham* by *Keturah*, ſo called becauſe her Mother was of *Beerſheba*—la Berſebonienne ou la Perſephonienne—Perſephone ou Proſerpine eſt une femme priſe dans le pais de Berſabée. Quoi de plus admirable! p. 82, 83. Nothing, we ſee, can exceed the Sagacity of our Etymologiſt, except his Confidence.

* See Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s Chron. p. 192, 193, and elſewhere.

Things: Expreſſions only either of the Courſe of Time, and of certain annual Occurrences and Ceremonies amongſt the *Egyptians*; of the Order of public Feſtivals and religious Solemnities; of the Regulations of civil Policy; or the mere Courſe of human Labour and Induſtry in the Accommodation of common Life *.

I

* Toute la Société ayant un beſoin extrême de regler l'ordre de ſes jours, & de convenir des tems où il faut s'aſſembler, ſe repoſer, ou travailler en commun, l'ecriture Symbolique fut tout particulièrement utile à cet égard, par la commodité de quelques marques qui étant expoſées en public, annonçoient les Fêtes & les Travaux d'une façon ſimple & uniforme. Hiſtoire du Ciel. Tom. I. p. 60. On nommoit le ſoleil Oſiris. Ce mot ſignifioit l'inſpecteur, le Cocher ou le Conducteur, le Roi, le Guide, le Moderateur des aſtres, l'Ame du Monde, le Gouverneur de la Nature. Et c'eſt parce qu'on donnoit ce nom & cette Fonction au Soleil, qu'on exprima par la Figure d'un homme portant un Sceptre, p. 61, 62. & ſuiv. Ce Gouverneur purement Figuratif a été pris pour un homme qui avoit vécu ſur la terre, & eſt pris pour un Dieu dans l'ecriture qui reſte ſur les Monumens, p. 63. Quand on voulut ſignifier la terre qui enfante & nourit toute choſe, on choiſit l'autre Sexe. La Femme qui eſt mere & nourice étoit une image naturelle de la terre. Celle-ci fut donc peinte avec ſes Productions ſous la forme d'Iſha, ou d'Iſis. Ce Symbole étoit commode, parce que les changemens de la Nature, & les diverſes productions de la terre, qui etoient ſans doute le ſujet des communes Actions de Graces, pouvoient aiſément être exprimées par les divers Ornemens qu'on donnoit a cette femme, p. 68, & ſuiv. Les Egyptiens déſignoient *le Travail* par la Figure d'un Enfant, qu' Oſiris & Iſis affectionnent, d'un fils bien-aimé

qu'ils

I REMEMBER (ſaid I) to have heard ſomething of ſuch an Hypotheſis as you deſcribe being lately publiſhed to the World by a *French* Author; which, with Allowance for that ſtraining Humor which is inſeparable from Syſtem, is not, I am told, ill defended. But pray what is the Foundation of this Scheme? for the Author, I ſuppoſe, would not oppoſe his ſingle Judgment to the unanimous Senſe of Mankind in this Affair, without ſome cogent Reaſons for doing ſo. Let me hear what is his Noſtrum,

qu'ils ſe plaiſent à combler de biens. Enſuite par les differentes formes qu'ils faiſoient prendre à cet enfant, ils exprimoient ingénieuſement la Conduite, les operations ſucceſſives, les traverſes, & lesSuccès du labourage. Hiſt. du Ciel. p. 75. & ſuiv.—La paix & la police parmi les citoiens apres les recoltes, & dans la joye qu' inſpire le repos de l' hyver—voila le vrai ſens de notre Symbol d'Harpocrate. Hiſt. p. 92. Le Peuple Egyptien prit peu a peu l' Oſiris pour ce qu'il preſentoit à l' oeil, c'eſt à dire pour un homme. Ils prirent Iſis pour une Femme; & l' Enfant qu'elle nourit pour un Enfant, pour le fils d'Oſiris & d'Iſis. —Prenant donc ces Figures au pié de la lettre, ils les regardérent comme des Monumens de leur Hiſtoire Nationale. Hiſt. du Ciel. p. 133, 134. Après avoir trouvé dans l'abus des Figures ſymboliques priſes pour des Objets reels, l'origine des habitans que l' Egypte a imaginés & placés dans le ciel, s'il ſe trouve encore que les Dieux des autres Nations, & les autres ſuperſtitions dont nous n' avons point parlé, ſoient une propagation ſenſible des Idées & des pratiques Egyptiennes, la Facilité de rappeller tant d' égaremens à un principe fort ſimple, fera voir de nouveau la juſteſſe du principe, quoique dès a preſent il paroiſſe ſuffiſamment démontré. Hiſt. p. 146.

ſtrum, *Hortenſius*, and upon what Principles does he erect his very new Explication of Theologic Antiquity?

UPON a Piece of falſe and exploded Philoſophy (replied he) in the firſt Place, *Philemon* * ; then a Series of his own Viſions; and laſtly a forced Teſtimony of ſeveral tortured Facts. But the whole, I ſhould confeſs to you, ſupported by a copious Set of Eaſtern Etymologies, correſponding ſo exactly to his Purpoſe †, that one ſhould hardly know how to withſtand ſuch a Weight of Evidence, were not the Nature of it a little ſuſpicious, as having been ſometimes known to prove equally on both ſides of a Queſtion ‡. But notwithſtanding all I have been ſaying, *Philemon*, if you would conſider this Author's Performance

* On a un aſſez bon nombre de preuves qui tendent a faire voir, que la raiſon naturelle pour laquelle la vie des hommes d'avant le Deluge etoit beaucoup plus longue que la nôtre, venoit de ce que le ſoleil ne quittant point alors l'Equateur, c'étoit une ſuite néceſſaire que la température d'air fût uniforme, & la fecondité de la terre non-interrompue. Hiſt. p. 10.

† See Hiſtoire du Ciel at large.

‡ Compare this Author's Derivation of the Name *Oſiris*, from *Ochoſi-erets* Dominium Terræ, with Monſieur *Fourmont*'s as above from *Hoſcheiri*, l'habitant de Seir. Both different from the learned *Voſſius*'s, from *Schichor*, or *Sior*, one of the Scripture Appellations of the River *Nile*. See Voſſ. de Orig. & Prog. Idol. Vol. I. p. 692.

mance as, what it in ſtrict Truth is, a mere ideal Amuſement, or more learned kind of Romance, the Peruſal of it, I believe, would not be unentertaining to you at ſome Leiſure Hour. The Scheme is prettily enough fancied, and the Execution of it is conducted with a good deal of Art and Ingenuity.

So much the worſe, (ſaid I) *Hortenſius*, in myOpinion. Art and Ingenuity, tho' they are no where perhaps better ſhewn, than in the Support of Paradoxes, are yet certainly moſt unpardonably miſemployed, when they are exerciſed to ſuch a purpoſe. One would wiſh every Author to be a dull one, whom one finds ingaged in a falſe Cauſe; ſince going ingeniouſly wrong is too ſeldom found to be going ſingly ſo. But what, in the Name of Wonder, could tempt our Author, *Hortenſius*, upon no better Grounds than you have repreſented, thus to ſet himſelf to refine away one of the ſeemingly plaineſt, and moſt ſtrongly atteſted Facts in Antiquity? Surely a Man muſt have an uncommon Love of Paradox, to ſuppoſe the Pagan Altars were thus univerſally erected to *unknown Gods* *. Or, that the *Egyptians* in particular could ſo far loſe the Meaning of a Language of their own compoſing, and which always continued to be in ſome

* Acts xvii. 23.

degree of Uſe amongſt them, as to miſtake a Set of Hieroglyphical Repreſentations, for ſo many proper hiſtoric Characters. A Syſtem of Emblems, Creatures altogether of their own Imaginations, for a Genealogy of Heroes; of whom they had both circumſtantial Records, and alſo, as you was obſerving, many viſible Memorials in the ſeveral Cities called after their Names in *Egypt*, that they were all, as an ingenious Writer ſpeaks upon a like Occaſion, "once fairly exiſting in this World *."

THERE is moreover (returned he) this very unfortunate Circumſtance for this Gentleman's Hypotheſis, preſerved to us by ſome of the antient Writers, in the religious Hiſtory of *Egypt*; that the *Egyptians* were wholly Strangers to Images of human Form in the Furniture of their Temples, or Places of Worſhip †. From whence tis obvious to remark, that it could not be ſuch an *Hieroglyphical Oſiris* and *Iſis* as is here ſuppoſed that gave Birth to the *Hiſtorical* ones. But

* Author of the Inquiry into the Life, &c. of *Homer*.

† Μετα δε τα προπυλαια ὁ Νεως· ξοανον δ' εχων ουδεν, η ουκ ανθρωπομορφον, αλλα των αλογων ζωων τινος· Strab. Geograph. lib. 17. p. 805. Ed. Caſaub. Κακει γαρ αυτος μεν ὁ νεως καλλιστος τε, και μεγιστος, λιθοις τοις πολυτελεσιν ησκημενος, και χρυσω και γραφαις διηνθισμενος· ενδον δε ην ζητης τον Θεον, η πιθηκος εστιν, η Ιβις, η τραγος, η αιλουρος· Lucian. Imag. p. 592. Edit. Bourd.

But that the *Oſiris* and *Iſis* whom the *Egyptians* worſhipped muſt have been originally two proper *hiſtorical Perſonages*; whom they were uſed, as will be ſhewn more at large in its Place, to repreſent by Animal-Symbols, and not by human Figures. Till, in a Courſe of Time, Mythology, having inveſted them with many *phyſical* or *natural*, over and above their *hiſtoric* Characters, gave occaſion to thoſe Groteſque Repreſentations of them in human Form, which occur ſo frequently in the *Egyptian* Monuments; and from whence our Author, I believe, took the Hint of his whole Hieroglyphic Syſtem. An Hypotheſis, I may juſt obſerve, which he was the readier to eſpouſe, as it flattered his over-great Delicacy in the Problem of the human Apotheoſis, by affording him a leſs groſs and offenſive Solution of it, than that which is generally received. He could not think of letting Men run directly and all at once into ſo palpable an Abſurdity in their Religion, and was therefore for bringing them about to the ſame End with ſomewhat more of Compaſs and Ceremony. And now, *Philemon*, having I think, in paſſing ſufficiently eſtabliſhed the general Hiſtoric Truth of our Heroes Characters, let us proceed, as we had began, with the more remarkable Particulars of them. They are recorded by the *Egyptians* to have been the firſt Ci-

vilizers of their Country both in a moral and natural Account. They reduced the ſavage Barbarity of their Times to a Senſe of Humanity, Diſcipline, and public Order. They taught the Practice of Building, Agriculture, and Plantation, with the Preparation and Uſe of Bread-Corn, Wine, and Medicine, before unknown in *Egypt*. They made Laws for the Aſſignment of Property amongſt their Countrymen, and for the Reſtraint of mutual Violence and Injuſtice, which they took care to have inforced by ſuitable Penalties annexed to the Breach of them. They were the general Promoters, or Incouragers of mechanic Ingenuity, and manual Arts; and of whatever had the Appearance in any Degree of a public Improvement *. At the ſame time their Views

* Πρωτον μεν γαρ (Φασι τον Οσιριν) παυσαι της αλληλοφαγιας το των ανθρωπων γενος· ευρουσης μεν Ισιδος τον τε του πυρου και της κριθης καρπον (φυομενου μεν, ως ετυχε, κατα την χωραν μετα της αλλης Βοτανης, αγνουμενου δε ὑπο των ανθρωπων·) του δε Οσιριδος επινοησαμενου την τουτων κατεργασιαν των καρπων· Diod. Sic. Bib. lib. 1. p. 13. Ὡς δε τω Μηνι τουτω τω πρωτω γενομενω Βασιλει χερσον γεγονεναι το απειργμενον· τουτον μεν εν αυτω πολιν κτισαι ταυτην, ἡτις νυν Μεμφις καλεεται. Herod. lib. 2. cap. 99. Κτισαι δε Φασι τους περι τον Οσιριν πολιν εν τη Θηβαιδι τη κατ' Αιγυπτον ἑκατομπυλον· Τους δε μεταγινεστερους αυτην ονομαζειν Διος πολιν, ενιους δε Θηβας. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 14. Φασι δ' Αιγυπτιοι την Ισιν Φαρμακων τε πολλων προς ὑγεια ευρετην

Views were not confined to *Egypt* alone; but whilſt *Iſis*, with the Aſſiſtance of *Hermes*, or *Mercury*, a Perſon in great Eſteem with them both, was appointed to preſide in the Direction of Affairs at home, *Oſiris*, with a Party of his Friends and Adherents, travelled much into foreign Parts; every where, as he paſſed, circulating uſeful Arts, and Inventions for the Service of common Life; leaving Traces behind him of his Humanity and public Spirit, and introducing a general Poliſh and Civility *. One would think,

ευρετην γεγονεναι, και της ιατρικης επιστημης μεγαλην εχειν εμπειριαν. Ibid. p. 22. Θειναι δε φασι και νομους την Ισιν, καθ' ους αλληλοις διδοναι τους ανθρωπους το δικαιον, και της αθεσμου Βιας και ὑβρεως παυσασθαι δια τον απο της τιμωριας Φοβον. Ibid. p. 13. Γενεσθαι δε Φιλογεωργον τον Οσιριν, ευρετην δ' αυτον γενεσθαι της αμπελου, και την εργασιαν του ταυτης καρπου προσεπινοησαντα, πρωτον οινου χρησασθαι, και διδαξαι τους αλλους ανθρωπους την τε Φυτειαν της αμπελου, και την χρησιν του οινου, και την συγκομιδην αυτου και τηρησιν· Diod. Sic. Bib. lib. 1. p. 14. Προτιμασθαι δε παρα τω Οσιριδι και τη Ισιδι τους τας τεχνας ανευρισκοντας, η μεθοδευοντας τι των χρησιμων· διοπερ ευ τη Θηβαιδι, χαλκουργειων ευρεθεντων και χρυσειων, οπλα τε κατασκευασασθαι δι ων τα θηρια κλεινοντας, και την γην εργαζομενους, Φιλοτιμως εξημερωσαι την χωραν. Ibid. p. 14. Confer Plut. de Iſide & Oſiride p. 356.

* Τον δ' ουν Φασι τα κατα την Αιγυπτον καταστησαντα, και την των ὁλων ηγεμονιαν Ισιδι τη γυναικι παραδουτα, ταυτη μεν παρακαταστησαι συμβουλον τον Ερμην· Ibid. p. 15. Τον δε Οσιριν λεγουσιν, ὡσπερ

think, a Perſon of this Character ſhould meet with no Enemies. But the Event proved otherwiſe. For after *Oſiris* had governed ſome time in *Egypt* to the Satisfaction of all who wiſhed well to their Country, his Brother *Typhon*, a Perſon of an undiſciplined and turbulent Spirit, either thro' Envy of his Reputation, or upon ſome private Quarrel to his Perſon, formed a Deſign upon his Life; which, through the Help of a Faction he had ingaged to his Purpoſe, he ſoon found Opportunity to accompliſh *. The Conduct of the Murder is ſomewhat differently related by Hiſtorians; but in all Accounts it ſtands attended with many aggravating Circumſtances of additional Inhumanity †. The Loſs

περ ευεργετικον ουτα και Φιλοδοξου στατοπεδον μεγα συστησασθαι, διανοουμενον επελθειν ἁπασαν την οικουμενην, και διδαξαι το γενος των ανθρωπων την τε της αμπελου Φυτειαν, και τον σπορον του τε πυρινου και κριθινου καρπου· ὑπολαμβανειν γαρ αυτον ὁτι παυσας της αγριοτητος τους ανθρωπους, και διαιτης ἡμερου μεταλαβειν ποιησας, τιμων αθανατων τευξεται δια το μεγεθος της ευεργεσιας. Ibid. p. 15.

* Φασι γαρ νομιμως Βασιλευοντα της Αιγυπτου τον Οσιριν ὑπο Τυφωνος αναιρεθηναι του αδελφου, Βιαιου και ασεβοῦς οντος· Diod. Sic. Bib. lib. 1. p. 18.

† Διελοντα (Φασι τον Τυφανα) το σωμα του Φονευθεντος εις ἑξ και εικοσι μερη δουναι των συν επιθεμενων ἑκαστω μεριδα· βουλομενου παντας μετασχειν του μυσους, και δια τουτο νομιζοντα συναγωνιστας ἑξειν και Φυλακας της Βασιλειας Βιαιου. Ibid. p. 18. Του δε Οσιριδος

Loſs of a Perſon ſo valuable to *Egypt* as *Oſiris* raiſed a public Concern amongſt the *Egyptians*, with a ſutable Reſentment againſt the guilty Inſtruments of his Death. *Iſis* immediately formed a Party on the behalf of herſelf, and her Son *Horus*, for the revenging her deceaſed Huſband's Murder; and, having greatly the Advantage of Numbers in her Cauſe, brought *Typhon* and his Faction to their deſerved Puniſhment *. *Oſiris*, as the beſt Teſtimony of their Reſpect the *Egytians* could now offer him, had Funeral Honors decreed him by the common Voice of his People; which were performed with all the Demonſtrations of a national unfeigned Mourning. In the Celebration whereof, the Tranſports of public Reverence and Affection to his Memory ran ſo high, that the Ceremony of his Obſequies was concluded in that of his Apo-

εκμετρησαμενου λαθρα το σωμα, και κατασκευασαντα ωρος το μεγεθος λαρνακα καλην και κεκοσμημενην περιτ῀ως, εισενεγκειν εις το συμποσιον· ησθεντων δε (των παρουντων) τη οψει και θαυμασαντων, ὑποσχεσθαι του Τυφωνα μετα ωαιδιας, ὁς αν εγκατακλεισθεις εξισωθειη, διδοναι δωρον αυτω την λαρνακα· εμβαντα Οσιριν κατακλιθηναι· Plut. de Iſ. & Od. p. 356.

* Την δε Ισιν, αδελφην ουσαν Οσιριδος και γυναικα, μετελθειν τον φονον, συαγωνιζομενου του ωαιδος αυτης Ὡρου· ανελουσαν δε του Τυφωνα, και τους συμπραξαντας, Βασιλευσαι της Αιγυπτου. Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. 1. p. 18.

Apotheoſis *. For from an unwillingneſs to relinquiſh all Intereſt at once in their favourite Hero, added, it may be, to ſome confuſed Tradition they had amongſt them of a Life after Death, the *Egyptians* perſuaded themſelves upon this Occaſion, that *Oſiris* might yet have it in his Power (and then they could not doubt its being in his Inclination) to be propitious to his late-loved Country, in ſome ſecret way of Communication with it. They accordingly converted, as we may ſay, his Sepulchre into his Altar †. And

* Την δε Ισιν (φασι) αναζητειν το σωμα, εκ τουτου δε και πολλας ταφας Οσιριδος εν Αιγυπτω γενεσθαι· οἱ δε ου φασιν· αλλα ειδωλα ποιουμενην διδοναι καθ' ἑκαστην πολιν, ὡς το σωμα διδουσαν, ὅπως παρα πλειοσιν εχη τιμας. Plut. de Iſ. p. 358. Βουλομενην δε (φασι την Ισιν) την τ'ανδρος ταφην αδηλον ποιησαι και τιμωμενην παρα πασι την Αιγυπτου κατοικουσι, συντελεσαι το δοξαν τοιουτω τινι τροπω· ἑκαστω των μερων περιπλασαι αυτην τυπου ανθρωποειδη εξ αρωματων και κηρου· εισκαλεσαμενην δε κατα γενη των ἱερεων, εξορκισαι παντας μηδενι δηλωσειν την δοθησομενην αυτοις πιστιν· κατ ιδιαν δε ἑκαστοις ειπειν ὁτι μονοις εκεινοις παρατιθεναι την του σωματος ταφην· και των ευεργεσιων ὑπομνησασαν, παρακαλεσαι, θαψαντας εν τοις ιδιοις τοποις το σωμα, τιμᾶν ὡς θεον τον Οσιριν. Diodor. Sic. p. 18. Εξ ανθρωπων εις θεους μεταστανται τον Οσιριν (φασι) τυχειν ὑπο Ισιδος και Ἑρμου θυσιων και των αλλων των επιφανεστατων θεων τιμων. Diod. loc. cit.

† Ενθεν αυτοις και οἱ των θεων οικοι νεκρων ειναι ταφοι μνημονευονται. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib. 2. cap. 5. p. 70.

And having made him the Offering there of their moſt affectionate Acknowledgments for his paſt Services, intreated of him the Continuance of his Favour towards them in ſuch future Inſtances of his Aſſiſtance, as the Intereſts of *Egypt* might require. And as a farther Ingagement upon him to this purpoſe, they agreed to meet annually at his Tomb, at each periodical Return of the Seaſon of his Interment; and to perform the like public Lamentations, as upon the preſent Occaſion, to his injured Manes; renewing at the ſame time upon their Minds, by certain expreſſive Ceremonies, the Memory both of his Sufferings and Benefactions; and recognizing him for their Patron or Tutelar Demon by more ſolemn and explicite Acts of national Worſhip *. *Iſis* lived ſome time after the De-

 ceaſe

* *Plutarch* informs us, that in the Iſland *Niſitane*, one of the Places which laid claim to the Interment of *Oſiris*, Ἐνι καιρω τους ἱερεις διαβαινοντας εναγιζειν, και καταστεφειν το σημα μηδικης φυτου περισκιαζομενον· De Iſ. & Oſ. p. 359. Ægypti Incolæ in adytis habent Idolum Oſiridis ſepultum hoc annuis luctibus plangunt. Jul. Firmic. de Error. prof. Rel. cap. 2. Και μνημην του παθεος (Αδωνιδος) τυπτονται τε ἑκαστου ετεος (οἱ Βυβλιοι) και θρηνεουσι, και σφισι μεγαλα πενθεα ανα την χωρην ἱσταται·— Εισι δε ενιοι Βυβλιων οἱ λεγουσι παρα σφισι τεθαφθαι τον Οτιριν τον Αιγυπτιον· και τα πενθεα ουκ ες Αδωνιν, ἀλλ' ες Οσιριν πρησσεσθαι. Lucian. de Syr. Deâ, p. 1058.

ceaſe of *Oſiris*; and, continuing to indear herſelf all along to the *Egyptians* by a Series of repeated Kindneſſes towards them, was upon her Death admitted to a Participation with him in his Divine Honors *. And from henceforth the annual Celebration of the funeral Rites of theſe two Deified Heroes became a ſtanding Solemnity of the *Egyptian* Religion. This was the true Meaning and Origin of that σκυθρωπασμός, as *Plutarch* very ſignificantly terms it, gloomy and diſmal Air, which ſome of the chief religious Ceremonies of *Egypt* carried with them †; and of the *Egyptians* performing many things in honor of their Gods reſembling the common Practices at a Funeral ‡. Of which, when the once proper Humanity of theſe Divine Perſons was thought neceſſary to be diſowned or concealed, the Allegoriſts of Antiquity were put to ſo many Shifts and Refinements, to give any paſſable Reaſon and Solution,

* Την δε Ιριν Φασι μετα την Οσιριδος τελευτην διατελεσαι τον λοιπον του βιου χρονον Βασιλευουσαν ισμιμωτατα, και ταις εις τους αρχομενους ευεργεσιαις απαντας υπερβαλομενην· ομοιως δε και ταυτην μεταστασαν εξ ανθρωπων τυχειν αθανατων τιμων. Diod. Sic. Lib. 1. p. 18, 19.

† Και διδωσιν ὁ καιρος υπονοιαν επι των καρπων τη αποκρυψει γενεσθαι τον σκυθρωπασμον· Plut. de Iſ. & Oſ. p. 378.

‡ Πολλα θαπτουσιν ομοια και πενθουσιν επραλτον. Plut. de Iſ. & Oſ. p. 379.

ſolution, as the Times grew more knowing and ſceptical *.

For their Comfort however (ſaid I) *Hortenſius*, they could frame no Solution ſo little defenſible, as the true one, of this Matter. In which, by a kind of judicial Infatuation, as one might be almoſt tempted to ſuſpect in the Caſe, upon the Inſtitutors of the human Apotheoſis, the Divinity of the two Heroes who were the moſt conſiderable Subjects of it, ſtood effectually diſproved by the moſt important Article of their own Worſhip.

Most evidently (returned he) it did ſo. And had the human Apotheoſis been the Work of political Art and Contrivance, the Ritual of this Hero-worſhip would, no doubt, have been more happily conſtituted. But as it took place firſt in rude and uninlightened Ages, the Simplicity of thoſe Times deified its Heroes, juſt as it found them, with all the Circumſtances of their Humanity about them; and had no ſuſpicion of Conſequences. But to proceed, *Philemon*, with the Hiſtory of our two Deified Heroes; it being a general Perſua-

 ſion

* Ὡσπερ αμελει και το δεικνυμενον αυτοις ειδωλον ανθρωπου τεθνηκοτος εν κιβωτιω περιφερομενου ουκ εστιν ὑπομνημα του περι Οσιριδος παθους, ἀλλ' οιομενους παρακαλειν αυτους χρησθαι τοις παρουσιν και απολαυειν, ὡς παντας αυτικα μαλα τοιουτους εσομενους. Plut. de Iſ. & Oſ. p. 357.

ſion in *Egypt*, as has been obſerved, that they had yet *ſomewhere* a more ſubſtantial Being, than in the Breaſts of their Survivers, Curioſity naturally put the *Egyptians*, fond of dwelling as much as poſſible upon a favourite Subject, upon conjecturing *where*. And the Reſult of this Speculation was, to aſſign them their Reſidence in the two greater Lights of Heaven; theſe being, not only in themſelves the nobleſt Scenes of Action they could imagine for them, but likewiſe, as might be thought, the moſt ſuitable ones at the ſame time to their diſtinct perſonal Characters *.

THIS was rather a piece of Compliment, (ſaid I) I ſhould think, at firſt, tho' afterwards it might by degrees grow up into ſerious Belief. It was a natural Topic of Panegyric, to ſay of *Oſiris* and *Iſis*, that they had been, as it were, another Sun and Moon to *Egypt*; had held forth in their Conduct a kind of reflex Image of the beneficent Virtues of thoſe divine Luminaries. I am ſenſible Compariſons of this Nature will not reliſh in our modern Days, as having been the ſtale Subject of Compliment to conſiderable Perſons with every cold

* Ὧν (Θεων επιγειων) ενιους φασι και Βασιλεις γεγονεναι κατα την Αιγυπτον· τινας δε αυτῶν μεν ὁμωνυμους ὑπαρχειν τοις ουρανιοις· και ὡρωτον μεν Ἡλιον Βασιλευσαι των κατ' Αιγυπτον ὁμωνυμον ονται τω κατ' ουρανον αστρω· Diod. Sic. Lib. 1. p. 12.13.

cold Invention from the moſt diſtant Memory. Mr. *Addiſon*, with his uſual Delicacy of Ridicule, prettily rallies this trite Style of panegyrizing, in his ſecond Dialogue *of the Uſefulneſs of antient Medals.* " There is ſcarce a great Man", (ſays he) in that incomparably entertaining Piece, " whom the Sun has ſhone upon, that " has not been compared to him. I look " on Similes as part of his Productions. I " do not know, whether he raiſes Fruits " or Flowers in greater Number" *. But when the Simile was new, *Hortenſius*, it was by no means, I think, inelegant. And the conſidering our Heroes in ſuch a Correſpondency of Character, as is here ſuppoſed, to the two principal Luminaries of Heaven, might eaſily be improved into giving them a local Reſidence in them, as the Reward of their analogous Services to *Egypt*.

YOUR Fancy is not amiſs (replied *Hortenſius*) though, I muſt own, I chuſe rather to abide by my own Account of this Matter. The *Egyptians*, I believe, uſed more the Language of the Eyes, than that of the Ears, for the Vehicle of their Heroes Praiſes. Their Mode of panegyrizing their deceaſed Benefactors ſeems rather to have been a kind of Dramatic Repreſentation of their Services, than a Rhetorical Deſcription

* *Addiſon*'s Works, 4to. Ed. Vol. I. p. 492.

tion of them. To ſignify, for example, that *Iſis* was the Inventreſs of Bread-corn in *Egypt*, they uſed to invoke her every Year over the firſt Reapings of their Harveſt *. And in their devotional Solemnities to her Honor they ſhewed a Specimen of the Grain ſhe had diſcovered for them, as the Regiſter of their Obligations to her upon this account †. In the ſame *dramatic* Turn of Thinking, when they celebrated annually the Obſequies of *Oſiris*, they carried about a Cheſt, the Repreſentation of their Heroe's-Coffin ‡; as alſo certain Symbols of Huſbandry and Plantation, to ſignify his having been the Introducer of theſe uſeful Arts among them ‖. A Ceremony which ſubſiſted in the Rituals of antient

* Μαρτυριον δε φερουσι της ευρησεως των ειρημενων καρπων το τηρουμενον παρ' αυτοις εξ αρχαιων νομιμον· ετι γαρ και νυν, κατα τον θερισμον, τους πρωτους αμηθεντας σταχυς θεντας τους ανθρωπους, κοπτεσθαι πλησιον του δραγματος, και την Ισιν αναkαλεισθαι· Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. I. p. 13.

† Παρ' ενιαις δε των πολεων και τοις Ισειοις εν τη πομπη μετα των αλλων φερεσθαι πυθμενας πυρων και κριθων, απομνηματα των εξ αρχης τη θεω φιλοτεχνως ευρεθεντων· Diod. loc. cit.

‡ Ὡσπερ αμελει και το δεικνυμενον αυτοις ειδωλον ανθρωπου τεθνηκοτος εν κιβωτιω περιφερομενον· K T Λ. Plut. de Iſid. & Oſ. p. 357. Και την ἱεραν κιστην οἱ στολισται και οἱ ἱερεις εκφερουσι χρυσουν εντος εχουσαν κιβωτιον. Ibid. p. 366.

‖ The Van, and the Thyrſus uſed in the Bacchic Rites, which were originally the *Egyptian* ones to *Oſiris*. See Plut. de Iſide & Oſ. p. 364-5.

antient Paganiſm to its lateſt Periods; tho', when the real Intendment of it was thought adviſeable to be ſuppreſſed, it was contrived to reſolve it into a myſtical one. From which *dramatic Manner* of the *Egyptians* in the chief Offices of their Heroic Worſhip, it came to paſs, as I conceive, that all the Capital Services of the antient Heroic Superſtition in ſuch other Pagan Nations as we are beſt acquainted with, were of the nature of a *Religious Drama*; conſiſting for the moſt part of certain μιμηματα, *ſenſible Repreſentations* of particular more remarkable Paſſages in the Hiſtory and Adventures of the Patron Hero *. Of this kind, for example, were the Rites performed by the *Phœnicians* to *Adonis* and *Venus*; by the *Phrygians* to *Attis* and *Cybele*; the *Thracians* to *Bacchus*; the *Cretans* to *Jupiter*; the Inhabitants of *Samothrace* and *Lemnos* to the *Dii Cabiri*; and

* Ἡ δε τιμωρος Οσιριδος αδελφη και γυνη ου περιειδε τους αθλους και τους αγωνας ους ανετλη, και πλανας αυτης, και πολλα μεν εργα σοφιας, πολλα δε ανδριας, αμνηστιαν ὑπολαβουσα και σιωπην, αλλα ταις ἁγιωταταις αναμιξασα τελεταις, εικονας και ὑπονοιας, και μιμημα των τοτε παθηματων καθωσιωσεν· Plut. de Iſ. & Oſ. p. 361. Την δε μητερα τουτων (Ἡλιου και Σεληνης) τους οχλους θεου τε νομισαι, και Βωμας ἱδρυσασθαι, και ταις δια των τυμπανων και κυμβαλων ενεργειαις, και τοις αλλοις ἁπασι απομιμουμενους τα περι αυτην συμβαντα, θυσιας και τας αλλας τιμας απονειμαι· Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. III. p. 190. 191.

and by the People of *Sicily* and *Attica* to the ſame divine Perſons under the more diſtinguiſhed Appellations of *Ceres*, *Pluto*, and *Proſerpine*.

You are then of opinion (interpoſed I) *Hortenſius*, that the Mode of Worſhip with all theſe Countries was indeed *Egyptian*, but the Objects of it certain of their own local Gods.

I am ſo, (reſumed he) *Philemon*; and the general Account I would give of the matter is in few Words this. The ſeveral Nations we are here ſpeaking of were, there is great Reaſon to think, at different times the Seats of certain originally *Egyptian* Colonies. Theſe Colonies, no doubt, carried along with them the Religion of their Mother Country throughout the whole Courſe of their Migrations into foreign Parts. The Rites of *Oſiris* and *Iſis*, being a principal Article of this Religion, would of conſequence be punctually obſerved by them, wherever they might chance to reſide at the ſtated Periods of their Celebration. Now theſe Rites, as has been ſhewn, ran much upon the dramatic Strain. A Circumſtance, which would naturally draw the Attention of ſuch foreign Spectators of them, amongſt whom they might at any time happen to be performed. The Novel Appearance of

theſe Solemnities would raiſe a ſtrong Curioſity in their Obſervers to know what was the meaning of them. And being told, that the Celebraters of them came from *Egypt*, a Country, as they might have heard, much famed for the Wiſdom of its Inſtitutions; and that the Deſign of them was to do Honor to certain *Egyptian* Gods, by a dramatic Repreſentation of the chief Paſſages of their once Mortal Hiſtory; they would from hence probably take the Hint of this Religious Mimickry themſelves, and dramatize, if one may ſo call it, after the *Egyptian* Mode, in the Worſhip of their own national Divinities.

BUT how (ſaid I) do you reconcile this Account of things, *Hortenſius*, which you have been here giving, with what you obſerved ſome time ago, of the antient Hiſtorians being unanimouſly agreed, that as well the chief Gods, as Worſhip of Paganiſm, came originally from *Egypt*?

I AM not aware (returned he) *Philemon*, that I have any ſuch Aſſertion as this to anſwer for. What I obſerved to you upon the Teſtimony of the antient Hiſtorians was, that the *Egyptians* were eſteemed the firſt of Mankind who uſed *the ſacred Names*, των θεων ονοματα, or, as it is elſewhere expreſſed by the ſame Author, (*Herodotus*) the θεων

επωνυμιας, uſual characteriſtic Appellations under which the Pagans worſhipped moſt of their chief Gods *; and who did moreover, as *Lucian* tells us, relate λογους ἱρους "Hiſtories of Divine Perſons." And this they might very naturally be in-asmuch as they were a People policied, and accommodated with the more neceſſary Arts of Life, (the Inventors whereof they had characteriſtically deified for their Recompence) from the moſt diſtant Memory of things in Pagan Antiquity. But it will by no means follow, that, becauſe the *Egyptians* were for the moſt part the original Proprietors of the received *Characteriſtic Appellations* of the chief Pagan Gods, they were ſo likewiſe of their ſeveral Perſons; Theſe Appellations being rather ſpecific than individual; Titles, as one may ſay, of Office, not merely Names of Men; and what might therefore be applied in common to *different* Perſons, who in different Ages and Countries of the Pagan World had acted under a *competent Analogy* of Hiſtoric Character †.

To

* Δυωδεκα τε θεων επωνυμιας ελεγον πρωτους Αιγυπτιους νομισαι, και Ἑλληνας παρα σφεων αναλαξειν. Herod. Lib. II. cap. 4.

† Nam Joves plures in priſcis Græcorum literis invenimus. ap. Cic. de Nat. Deorum Lib. 3. cap. 16. Volcani item Complures. ibid. cap. 22. Mercurius unus Cœlo patre, Die Matre natus. Alter Valentis et Coronidis Filius. Tertius Jove tertio natus et Maja. Quartus Nilo patre. Quintus, quem colunt Pheneatæ

To illuſtrate this Matter, *Philemon*, by a particular Inſtance—One of the Characteriſtic Appellations under which the *Egyptians* deified their favourite Goddeſs *Iſis*, was that which the *Greeks* have pretty near ly preſerved to us in their *Demeter*, and anſwers in our Language to *the Mother of Plenty* *. The Reaſon of giving this Appellation to her was her having taught the *Egyptians* the Art of ſowing their

 Lands.

Pheneatæ, qui Ægyptiis dicitur Leges et Literas tradidiſſe. ibid. cap. 22. Dianæ item plures——Venus Prima Cœlo et Die nata. Altera Spumâ procreata. Tertia Jove nata et Dionâ. Quarta Syria Tyroque concepta, quæ Aſtarte vocatur, quam Adonidi nupſiſſe proditum eſt—Minerva prima, quam Apollinis Matrem ſupra diximus. Secunda orta Nilo quam Ægyptii Saitæ colunt. Tertia illa, quam Jove generatam ſupra diximus. Quarta Jove nata et Coryphe. Quinta Pallantis Filia, &c. De Nat. Deor. Lib. 3. cap. 23. Jupiter igitur generali Regum omnium nomine accipitur. Voſſ. de Orig. & Prog. Idololatriæ, Lib. 1. cap. 14. Poſtea tot prope Neptuni, quot Principes Inſulares: quod ex Poetarum fabulis, ſi ad hiſtoriam eas referamus, non obſcurè cognoſcitur. Ac præter iſtos et Continenti fuere Neptuni ſui: in his principes, qui arte equeſtri excellerent. Voſſ. Lib. 1. cap. 15. Saturnos dictos, qui nobilium Regum Vetuſtiſſimi condiderunt Urbes et Populos. Ac proinde non unum ſed Plures fuiſſe Saturnos; quorum Patres Cœli, Filii vero Joves. Nomina igitur hæc fuerunt dignitatis——Analoga, potius quam Æquivoca. Xen. de Equivoc. ap. Kirch. Œd. Ægypt. Vol. 1. p. 180. Hinc tot Cœli, Saturni, Joves, Hercules, Rheæ, Tellures, Veſtæ, Junones, ob facinorum quæ perpetrarunt Similitudinem. Kirch. Œd. Ægypt. p. 180, 181.

* Dimitir.

Lands. Some Ages afterwards *Ceres*, having done the ſame thing to the People of *Attica* in *Greece*, when ſhe came to be deified there, went under the ſame common Denomination with the *Egyptian Iſis*. And this is what the *Greek* Writers mean, when they ſpeak of *Iſis* and *Ceres* as the ſame Goddeſs *. Not *perſonally* ſuch to be ſure, for in this reſpect, their Hiſtories, as related by the ſame Writers, put a notorious Difference between them †: But merely (to ſay nothing here of their united *Phyſical* Characters in Antiquity) in a *Theological* Conception of them; as being worſhipped by the different Countries in which they lived upon the ſame common Reaſons of Apotheoſis; the one, as has been already obſerved, having introduced into *Attica*, what the other had before into *Egypt*, the three invaluable Bleſſings of Corn, Property, and Legiſlation. So

* Ισις δε εστι κατα την Ελληνων γλωσσαν Δημητηρ. Herod. Lib. II. cap. 59. Και τον μεν Οσιριν Φασι μεθερμηνευομενον ειναι Διονυσον, την δε Ισιν εγγιστα πως Δημητρα. Diod. Sic. Lib. I. p. 13.

† Μετα δε της κορης αρπαγην μυθολογουσι την Δημητρα μη δυναμενην ευρειν την θυγατερα, λαμπαδας εκ των κατα την Αιτνην κρατηρων αναψαμενην, επελθειν επι πολλα μερη της οικουμενης· Των δ' ανθρωπων τους μαλιστα ταυτην προσδεξαμενους ευεργετησαι, τον των πυρων καρπον αντιδωρησαμενην. Diod. Sic. Lib. 5. p. 288. The Diſtreſſes we find, of *Ceres* were wholly occaſioned by the Rape of a favorite Daughter; Whereas thoſe of *Iſis* were all upon account of the Murder of her Huſband.

So that upon the whole (ſaid I) the ἐπωνυμιαι, or Head-Characters only, of the Heroic-Theology of the *Greeks*, was all that was properly *Egyptian*; the Subjects of the Apotheoſis with them being no other, for the moſt part, than ſuch of their own Heroes, who had taught them the firſt ſimpler Arts and Accommodations of Life.

Unless (returned he) to their *Theologic-Characters* borrowed, as we ſay, from their ſynonymous *Egyptian* Predeceſſors in the Apotheoſis, we may add ſometimes a few Circumſtances of Hiſtory derived to them from the ſame Quarter. For the *Greeks*, we know, were not over-nice in the Chronology of their Heroic-Divinities; but in order to do honor to their Reputation would plunder any Age or Country for the Materials of it *. In the mean time, to return once more to the ſacred Affairs of *Egypt*—The *Demoniſm*, as has been related, of *Oſiris* and *Iſis*, or in other Words their poſthumous Superintendence over the Intereſts of their Country, being once believed and eſtabliſhed there; a like Perſuaſion would ſoon come to obtain of ſuch

* Hic enim veterum mos erat, quo magis admirandæ eſſent Virtutes eorum quos in Deos retuliſſent, varios Eximiæ Virtutis in unum conflare, unique omnium Geſta attribuere, quod difficile non erat in rebus ab Ætate ſuâ remotis, et geſtis in Terrâ longe diſſitis. Voſſ. de Orig. et Prog. Idol. Lib. 1. cap. 19.

ſuch other departed Perſons, as had been of any conſiderable Eminence in their Generations. And Death, as we have ſeen in the Caſe of their two principal Heroes, being looked upon by the *Egyptians* as a Change of Scene only, not of Manners or Diſpoſition; hence it became a general Practice with them to deify their favorite Dead under that *particular Character* of *Uſefulneſs* which they had ſuſtained whilſt living. And accordingly the ſeveral deified Inventors of the more neceſſary Arts of Life were conſidered by them after their Deceaſe as the eſpecial Patron Gods of their own perſonal Inventions. As in the Caſe of the *Egyptian Vulcan*, *Veſta*, *Diana*, *Mercury*, and almoſt every other principal Character of the Heroic Divinity; excepting that of *Neptune*, as *Herodotus* ſeems to have thought; a Deity, to whom from their religious Averſion to the Sea, and being, in the firſt Settlement of their Empire at leaſt, no great Sailors, they gave little or no Share of their devout Regards. And indeed ſo prevailing was the Opinion with them, of the chief Qualities of the *Hero* ſubſiſting in the *Demon*, that even *Typhon* himſelf had by this means a Place in their Syſtem of Deity; the *Egyptians*, tho' they hated his Memory, yet dreading his Malice, and accordingly indeavoring to divert or appeaſe it by ſuch deprecatory Rites of Worſhip,

as

as they conceived moſt ſuitable to the ſuppoſed peſtilent Humor of this miſchievous Divinity.

'Tis upon theſe Grounds (ſaid I) *Hortenſius*, as I ſuppoſe, that the Antients have been led to expreſs their Idea of Superſtition under the Word δεισιδαιμονια, *diſidemoniſm*, as we may call it, or the unreaſonable and extravagant Fear of Demons.

Undoubtedly; (replied he) and when you conſider, *Philemon*, that the Heroic Apotheoſis with the antient Pagans was indeed nothing more, than tranſlating in any particular Inſtance the *human Character* into the *Divine one*; you will from hence eaſily obſerve, that as well the Faults, as Excellencies, of every ſuch Character, would naturally accompany the Proprietor of it into his *Deified*, or *Demon-State*; and the Imperfections of the *Man* make a Part of the Idea of the *God*. From which low and groveling Conception of their Divinities, ſuch abject and illiberal Services muſt of courſe, with all weaker and more devout Tempers eſpecially, enter into the Worſhip of them, that one cannot wonder the Antients ſhould make that their Head Character of falſe Practice in Religion, which they would neceſſarily find to be one of the capital

capital Sources of it; *Diſidemoniſm*, as your Expreſſion is, or an anxious Sollicitude to pleaſe certain ſuppoſed Demon Powers.

Now we are upon this Subject (interrupted I) *Hortenſius*, there is a favorite Paſſage of mine in *Lucian*'s Treatiſe of Sacrifices, which owes, I have often thought, its chief Force and Elegancy to a kind of *Luſus* upon this antient Character of Superſtition. " There is ſcarce any Man, " (ſays the Author) to be met with, I " ſhould imagine, ſo thorowly diſinclined " to Mirth, but muſt be provoked to laugh " at ſome of the popular Ceremonies of " Religion. But before he would venture " to laugh in a Subject ſuppoſed ſo ſerious, " he would be apt to aſk himſelf, whether " it really was *ſuch?* and whether the " Zealots in theſe unworthy Sacra could " deſerve to be called ευσεβεις, *Pious Per-* " *ſons*, or were not more properly, θεοις " εχθρους και κακοδαιμονας? not in an *active* Uſe of the Words here, as his Tranſlator coldly repreſents him, " Diis " inimicos, atque infelices ac Genios Ma- " los;" but in a much more emphatical and *paſſive* one, " Perſons under the *Diſ-* " *pleaſure* and *judicial Infatuation* of the " Gods, rather than ingaged in the *Wor-* " *ſhip* of them", or, as we might ſay, " *Demo-*

" *Demoniacs* inſtead of *Demoniſts* in the " Offices of their Devotion." For this I take to be the true Idea of the Place; which I the rather incline to eſpouſe, as it gives a more pointed and ludicrouſly ſatiric Turn to the whole Sentiment, agreably to the known Manner of this witty and ſceptical Writer *.

* Ἁ μεν γαρ εν ταις θυσιαις οἱ ματαιοι πραττουσι, και ταις ἑορταις, και προσοδοις των θεων, και ἁ αιτουσι, και ἁ ευχονται, και ἁ γινωσκουσι περι αυτων, ουκ οιδα, ει τις ὁυτω κατηφης εστι και λελυπημενος, ὁστις ου γελασεται, την αβελτηριαν επιβλεψας των δρωμενων· και πολυ γε οιμαι προτερου του γελᾶν προς ἑαυτον ἐξεταση, ποτερον ευσεβεις αυτους χρη καλειν, η τουναυτιον θεοις εχθρους, και κακοδαιμονας, ὁιγε ὁυτω ταπεινον και αγενες το θειον ὑπειληφασιν, ὡστε ειναι ανθρωπων ενδεες, και κολακευομενου ἡδεσθαι, και αγαναϰτειν αμελουμενον; Lucian de Sacrificiis, p. 182. Edit. Bourd.—Compare with this Paſſage from *Lucian* the following ones from *Ariſtophanes*.

Ειτα του θεωσιν εχθρου βυρσοδεψην ΠαΦλαγονα
Ἡνιχ' ἡρεισθε στρατηγον, τας οΦρυς συνηγομεν,
Κα'ποιουμεν δεινα. In Nub. p. 160. Edit. Biſet.

Blepſid. Μῶν ου κεκλοΦας, αλλ' ἡρπακας;
Chremyl. Κακοδαιμονᾶς. In Plut. p. 40.
Chremyl. Ὡς μεν γαρ νυν ἡμιν ὁ Βιος τοις ανθρωποις διακειται,
Τις αν ουκ ἡγοιτ' ειναι μανιαν, κακοδαιμουιαν τ'ετι μαλλον. In Plut. p. 52.

YOUR Correction here, (reſumed *Hortenſius*) may very probably be a juſt one; the Thought is certainly improved by it. But at preſent we have other Affairs upon our hands, than critical Diſquiſitions. We have already, you know, conſidered the *ſame Theologic-Character* as ſubſiſting in very *different Perſons*; let us now, in paſſing, turn the Tables a while, and conſider the *ſame* Perſon, as ſometimes veſted with very *different Theologic-Characters*. We have the Teſtimony of *Plutarch*, that the *Minerva* of *Sais* in *Egypt*, where was her Temple, you know, with the ſo much famed Inſcription, was eſteemed to be the ſame Perſon with *Iſis* *. And we are told by *Herodotus*, that the chief Feſtival of this *Minerva* was that of the λυχνοκαια, the *Feſtival of Lamps*; celebrated by a public Illumination of the City of *Sais* by Veſſels of lighted Oil †. If we lay theſe Obſervations together, and withal recollect what has been remarked of the generally *dramatic* Turn of the *Egyptian* Sacra, we ſhall perhaps find Reaſon to conclude, that the *Minerva* we are ſpeaking of was only *Iſis* under a more *detached* and *particularized*

* Το δ' εν Σαι της Αθηνᾶς (ἡν Ισιν νομιζουσιν) ἐδος επιγραφην ειχε τοιαυτην. Εγω ειμι Κ· Τ· Λ· Plut. de Is. & Os. p. 354.

† Vide Herod. Lib. II. cap. 62.

rized Idea of her; as the Perſon who taught the *Egyptians* the Plantation of the Olive Tree, and the uſe of Oil for Artificial Lights to ſupply the Abſences of the Sun. And as *Iſis* is thus abundantly confirmed to us to have been the *Minerva* of the *Egyptians*, I have ſometimes been inclined to ſuſpect ſhe was their *Venus* likewiſe. *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Plutarch* all agree to inform us, that the *Egyptians* were no Strangers to this Goddeſs. *Plutarch* repreſents her as the Wife of *Typhon*. But had ſhe really ſtood in this Relation to a Perſon ſo generally hated in *Egypt*, the *Egyptians*, I am apt to think, would hardly have afforded her ſo *mild* a *Character of Divinity*, as is here ſuppoſed. I am rather therefore for conſidering *Venus*, as I have ſaid, as the divine Character of *Iſis*, in quality of the *great Mother of her Country*; or as the Perſon, who by her Aſſiſtance to *Oſiris* in forming the *Egyptians* into Society, and giving them ſalutary Laws and Diſcipline, had laid the Grounds and Foundation of their national Strength and Populouſneſs: As, in the ſame way of Thinking, her Huſband, I perſuade myſelf, was conſidered by the *Egyptians*, as *the Father of his Country*, in the obſcene Ceremony of the *Phallephoria*; a Practice probably, in its firſt Inſtitution, emblematically commemorative of *Oſiris*, the great Founder of

the *Egyptian* Polity, under this diſtinguiſhed Notion or Regard *.

Is then (ſaid I) the chaſt and continent *Iſis*, the very Model, as ſhe is uſually repreſented, of conjugal Affection and Fidelity, reduced at laſt to the Diſſoluteneſs of a *Venus*, one of the looſeſt Characters in all Sacred Antiquity, and chief Scandals of Religious Paganiſm?

Possibly (returned he) the Character might not originally be ſo ſcandalous as you ſeem to apprehend. How do you know, but the more diſreputable Parts of it may have been the Additions of After-Ages, and owing to the Miſconducts of ſome later Subjects of it, than the Perſon we are at preſent concerned with? tho', ſhould you inſiſt upon it after all, *Philemon*, that a certain Mixture of Intrigue is abſolutely neceſſary to the Idea of a *Venus*, a Critic in Reputations might, for aught I know, find Grounds of Suſpicion even againſt *Iſis* herſelf. This at leaſt is pretty remarkable in her Hiſtory, that during the Abſence of *Oſiris* from his Kingdom, a Seaſon, one would think, of all others the fitteſt for a Rebellion againſt him to break out

* Ἑλλησι γαρ δη Μελαμπους εστι ὁ εξηγησαμενος του Διονυσου τουνομα, και την θυσιην, και την Πομπην του Φαλλου. Herod. Lib. II. cap. 144.

out in, we hear nothing of *Typhon* and his Faction. All, it ſeems, went well and peaceably in *Egypt*, ſo long as *Iſis* was the ſupreme Manager there *. Might not one be tempted to ſuſpect here, that the Charms of her Perſon were the Security of her Government? and that Love was the great ſoothing Power which could thus effectually compoſe the reſtleſs Turbulency of Ambition? a Suſpicion, which is increaſed by what *Plutarch* reports to us, of the unjuſtifiable Partiality of *Iſis* towards *Typhon*, even after his having been the Murderer of *Oſiris*; when, upon *Horus*'s delivering him up to her as his Captive, ſhe was prevailed upon to give him his Liberty †. You ſee, *Philemon*, there is need of ſome Candor to believe, that even the continent *Iſis*, as you call her, was wholly proof againſt certain tender Failings; and, however affectionate ſhe is repreſented to have been to the Memory of her Huſband, had not taken ſome modiſh Freedoms in his Life-time.

BUT

* Ὑστερον δε γην ωασαν ἡμερουμενον επελθειν (Οσιριν) Τυφωνα δε ἁπαντος μεν ουθεν νεωτεριζειν, δια το την Ισιν ευ μαλα φυλατ7εσθαι και ωροσεχειν εγκρατως εχουσαν· επανελθοντι δε δολον μηχανασθαι. Plut. de Iſ. & Oſ. p. 356.

† Την μεν ουν μαχην επι ωολλας ἡμερας γενεσθαι, και κρατησαι τον Ὡρου· του Τυφωνα· δε την Ισιν δεδεμενον ωαραλαβουσαν ουκ ανελειν, αλλα και λυσαι

και

BUT the *Egyptians* (ſaid I) I ſuppoſe, were not over-ſcrupulous in Characters: or at leaſt their Gratitude was too ſtrong for their Cenſoriouſneſs; and they could eaſily overlook a few Slips in Conduct, in a Perſon of *Iſis*'s extraordinary Uſefulneſs and Beneficence.

I SEE (reſumed he) *Philemon*, you are no Friend to *Iſis* in the Capacity of a *Venus*; I will therefore change the Scene for you, and introduce her to your Acquaintance under a Character, you will probably have leſs Exception to, that of the *Egyptian Rhea*, or *Mother of the Gods*. The Manner of repreſenting this Divine Perſonage in a neighbouring Country to *Egypt*, was, as we learn from *Lucian* in his Account of the Goddeſs of *Hierapolis* in *Syria*, under the Image of a Woman wearing a Turret, or Crown reſembling the Faſhion of a Tower, upon her Head; and ſupported by Lions*. *Virgil*'s *Cybele*, you know, is alſo *turrita*, and ſeated in a Chariot drawn, we are to ſuppoſe, by the ſame kind of Ani-

και μεθειναι· τον δε Ωρον ου μετριως ενεγκειν, αλλ' επιβαλουτα τη μητρι τας χειρας αποσπασαι της κεφαλης το Βασιλειον· Plut. de Iſid. & Oſ. p. 358.

* Σημηια δε ἡ θεος τα πολλα ες Ρεην απικεεται· λεοντες γαρ μιν φερουσι, και επι τη κεφαλη πυργοφορεει, ὁκοιην Ρεην Λυδοι ποιουσι. Lucian. de Syr. Deâ p. 1062.

Animals *. Whoever was the ſtrict Perſonal Subject of this Repreſentation, I cannot help being of Opinion, the Thought of it, as one may ſay, was altogether *Egyptian:* And that the Turret and Lions were Emblems firſt made uſe of in *Egypt*, as often as *Iſis* was conſidered there as a Patroneſs of Building and political Aſſociation; one very important Conſequence whereof to Mankind was, either taming the Fierceneſs, or guarding againſt the Injuries, of the more dangerous Species of Wild Beaſts. That ſhe ſhould be ſtyled a *Mother of Gods* can be no Myſtery, if we reflect that ſhe ſeems to have led the Way in thoſe Inventions of more civilized Life, which gave the firſt Grounds of Apotheoſis to their ſeveral reputed Authors. Not to add, that ſome of theſe Deified Artiſts were probably in a literal Senſe her Children. So that the Idea which *Iſis* gives of herſelf to *Lucius* in *Apuleius*, upon his addreſſing her to reſtore him to his Humanity, has poſſibly a great deal of Theological, though but little Hiſtoric Truth in it; when ſhe tells him, "She is that Godeſs, whom all Nations worſhip under "different Views of her Character. That "the original Natives of *Phrygia* called her "*Peſſinuntica*, and the Mother of the "Gods.

* ——————Qualis Berecynthia Mater
Invehitur Curru Phrygias turrita per Urbes
Læta Deûm Parta. *Virg.*

" Gods. Thoſe of *Attica*, the *Cecropian*
" *Minerva*. The People of *Cyprus*, the
" *Venus* of *Paphos*. Thoſe of *Crete*, *Diana*
" *Dictynna*, or the Inventreſs of the Hunt-
" ing-Net. The *Sicilians*, *Proſerpine*. The
" *Eleuſinians*, *Ceres*. Others, *Juno*. Others,
" *Bellona*. Thoſe, *Hecate*. Theſe, *Rham-*
" *nuſia*. But the *Egyptians* only had her true
" Name, which was that of *the Queen Iſis**."
To conſider her again, *Philemon*, under which her more aſcertained Appellation — We left her, you know, in her departed or Demon-ſtate, removed by the fond Gratitude of her Survivors from Earth to Heaven, and reſiding in their Imaginations in the Orb of the Moon; whilſt the Soul of *Oſiris* was received, it was conjectured, into that of the Sun. Afterwards, when the *Egyptians* had applied themſelves to aſtronomical Obſervations, and it was remarked by them, that the Heliacal riſing of the Star *Sothis*, which the *Greeks* called by the Name of *Aſtrocyon*, or the Dog-Star, always preceded, and ſeemed, as it were, to

* Cujus numen unicum multiformi Specie, ritu vario, totus veneratur orbis. Me primigenii Phryges Peſſinunticam nominant Deûm Matrem. Hinc Antocthones Attici Cecropiam Minervam. Illinc fluctuantes Cyprii Paphiam Venerem. Cretes Sagittiferi Dictymnam Dianam. Siculi trilingues Stygiam Proſerpinam. Eleuſinii Vetuſtam Deam Cererem. Junonem alii. Bellonam alii. Hecatem iſti. Rhamnuſiam illi. Egyptii vero nomine appellant Reginam Iſidem. Apul. Met. Lib. II. prop. Init.

to announce to them, the approaching annual Increaſe of their *Nile*, they made *Iſis* the Compliment of ſuppoſing her to reſide in *Sothis*, as well as in the Moon; and to be the influencing Cauſe of that kind Admonition, which they yearly received from this uſeful Luminary *. *Diodorus* informs us, that ſome of the antient *Greek* Mythologiſts called *Oſiris* by the Name of *Sirius*, or the Dog Star; from whence 'tis not improbable, but the *Egyptians* had given him, as well as his Conſort, a Part in the good Offices of this their Celeſtial Monitor †. And in general, we may obſerve here once for all, that the Deification of the antient Heroes uſually paſſed under the Notion of their inhabiting particular Stars ‡; whoſe

* Ισις δε παρ' αυτοις εστιν αστηρ, Αιγυπτιστι καλουμενος Σωθις, Ἑλληνιστι δε Αστροκυων· Horap. Hierogl. Lib. 1. Hierog. 3. Λεγουσιν οι ἱερεις καλεισθαι Κυνα μεν την Ισιδος (ψυχην) ὑπ' Ἑλληνων, ὑπ' Αιγυπτιων δε Σωθιν· Plut. de Iſ. & Oſ. p. 359. Ὁτε αρα η μεν ανατελλει το αστρον ὁ κυων, συνανισχει αρα δε αυτω τροπον τινα και ὁ Νειλος, και αυξεται περι τας αρουρας. Ælian. Hiſt. Animal. Lib. X. cap. 45. Των τε αστερων τον σειριον Ισιδος νομιζουσι, ὑδραγωγον ουτα· Plut. de Iſ. & Oſ. p. 366.

† Των δε παρ' Ἑλλησιν παλαιων μυθολογων τινες τον Οσιριν σειριον επονομαζουσι· Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. I. pag. 11.

‡ Ου μονον δε τουτων ὁι ἱερεις λεγουσιν, αλλα και των αλλων θεων τα μεν σωματα παρ' αυτοις κεισθαι καμοντα, και θεραπευεσθαι, τας δε ψυχας εν Ουρανω λαμπειν αστρα. Plut. de Iſ. & Oſ. p. 359.

Names they from thenceforth took themſelves, and often returned the Favour in kind, by giving them their own perſonal ones, whilſt upon Earth, in requital. And thus Hero-worſhip became as it were ingrafted upon Luminary-worſhip; which in time produced frequently, as will hereafter be explained, ſuch a total Confuſion of the civil, with the natural Gods of the antient Pagans, as to make it extremely difficult to determine with any Degree of Satisfaction to oneſelf what Part of their religious Ritual had relation to one Sort of Divinities, and what to the other. Of which no one can want a ſufficient Conviction, who will be at the pains of informing himſelf, with what puzzled Induſtry *Voſſius*, and other learned Writers upon the Theology of the Antients, have labored in this imbaraſſed Subject.—— But here, *Philemon*, let me prepare you a little for a very conſiderable Change of Scene, which in the Courſe of our Speculation you are now to expect from me. Inaſmuch as, from having carried up your Thoughts to the celeſtial Regions, as the happy Reſidence of the departed *Oſiris*, and *Iſis*, I am next to bring you acquainted with them under a Conception more degrading, than even their late *human* State; I mean, " as inhabiting the Forms of certain " Brute-Animals, ſome of the leaſt honor-

" able,

" able, and reptile Species themſelves, in " time not excepted *."

A CHANGE of Scene, (interpoſed I) it muſt be owned, not a little diſadvantageous this to the Parties concerned in it. But whatever Objections they might have to make to ſuch a reduced Situation of Divinity, I aſſure you I have none to attending them in it; as it promiſes to lead you into the Article of the Symbolic-Theology of the *Egyptians*; under which Head, you know, you are to let me a little into the general Notion of their celebrated *Hieroglyphics*. A Point, I am impatient to have you ſpeak to.

As far (replied he) as we have at preſent any concern with this Matter, that is, as far as the *Hieroglyphics* ſtand connected with the ſymbolic or animal Worſhip of *Egypt*, I will give you the beſt Account of them that I can. For a nice and critical Diſquiſition of the *Hieroglyphic* Science, beſides that the Subject itſelf is not a little dark and perplexed, and would moreover too much divert our Thoughts from what they

 are

* When *Oſiris* and *Iſis* came to be confounded with the Sun and Moon, which gave them an Intereſt in all thoſe different kinds of conſecrated Animals which were conſidered as Symbols of theſe Luminaries.

are here principally ingaged in; I have the leſs Reaſon, as well as Inclination to attempt this, as I have good Grounds to believe it has already fallen into much abler Hands; and makes part of a Work ſhortly to be expected from the Preſs, the Second Volume of "the Divine Legation of "*Moſes* demonſtrated, &c." For our purpoſe then, *Philemon*, I begin with obſerving to you, that, before the Introduction of Alphabetic Characters into the World, the beſt way Men could think of to ſignify to each other their Thoughts in Writing was, either "by a direct Picture, wherever that "was practicable, of the Object they had "occaſion to deſcribe," or in other Caſes "by ſubſtituting viſible Objects for inviſible "ones, in the way of Emblem or natural "Symbol." For the Practice of writing by immediate Picture, the bare mention is a ſufficient Explication of it. For the other Method, I know not how better to repreſent it to you, than by reading you a Paſſage out of *Diodorus Siculus* upon this Subject, if you will trouble your ſelf to reach me down that Author from behind you.——'Tis here in the fourth Book of his *Hiſtorical Library*.——"But now (ſays "he) I am to take notice of the *Ethiopic* "Characters, called by the *Egyptians*, "*Hieroglyphics*. For the Make or Faſhion

"of

" of them, they reſemble the Forms of all
" ſorts of Animals; certain of the Parts
" or Members of the human Body; as
" likewiſe different kinds of Mechanical
" Inſtruments. For the Manner of Writ-
" ing with the People I am ſpeaking of is
" not *by Words*, but *Things*, which have
" their *tropical* Senſes habitually affixed to
" them in the Memory. Thus they de-
" lineate a Hawk, a Crocodile, and a Ser-
" pent; A Man's Eye, Hand, and Face;
" With other Repreſentations of a like
" nature. By a Hawk, which is a Bird
" of remarkably *ſwift Flight*, they ſignify
" *Swiftneſs*, or *Expedition at large*. Which
" Quality, in the Thing or Perſon under
" Conſideration with them, is by Uſe al-
" moſt as readily ſuggeſted to their Minds
" by the Figure of this Animal, as if it
" had been expreſſed to them in Words.
" So a Crocodile is the Emblem of Ma-
" lice. The Eye of Juſtice and Vigilance.
" The Right Hand with the Fingers ex-
" tended of Gain. The Left Hand cloſed
" of Frugality. And the like is to be un-
" derſtood of all their other Marks. For
" following with the Mind the *natural*
" *Significancy* of each Object, and having
" their Memory and Attention *well exer-*
" *ciſed* to this purpoſe, they come by de-
" grees to a ready and immediate Appre-
" henſion

" henſion of whatever is this way expreſſed " to them * ". You cannot but remark here, *Philemon*, (continued he) that the Hiſtorian all along repreſents it as the Work of Time and Pains to acquire a Facility at Underſtanding this Emblem Language. And indeed the obvious Imperfection in every reſpect of the emblematic Character, compared with the way of Writing by Letters of an Alphabet, is to me ſuch a *natural* Demonſtration, that *Hieroglyphics*, as I ſaid before, " were both " prior in the Order of Time to *Letters*, " and

* Περι δε των Αιθιοπικων γραμματων, των παρ' Αιγυπτιοις καλουμενων ιερογλυφικων, ρητεον· συμβεβηκε τοινυν τους μεν τυπους υπαρχειν αυτων ομοιους ζωοις παντοδαποις, και ακροτηριοις ανθρωπων, ετι δ' οργανοις, και μαλιστα τεκτονικοις· ου γαρ εκ της των συλλαβων συνθεσεως η γραμματικη παρ' αυτοις τον υποκειμενον λογον αποδιδωσιν, αλλ' εξ εμφασεως των μεταγραφομενων, και μεταφορας μνημη συνηθλημενης· γραφουσι γαρ ιερακα, και κροκοδειλον, ετι δ' οφιν, και του εκ του σωματος των ανθρωπων οφθαλμον, και χειρα, και προσωπον· και ετερα τοιαυτα· ο μεν ουν ιεραξ αυτοις σημαινει παντα τα οξεως γενομενα, διο το ζωον τουτο των πτηνων σχεδον υπαρχειν οξυτατον· μεταφερεται τε ο λογος ταις οικειαις μεταφοραις εις παντα τα οξεα, και τα τουτοις οικεια, παραπλησιως τοις ειρημενοις——Ταις γαρ εν εκαστοις ενουσαις εμφασεσι συνακολουθευτες, και μελετη πολυχρονιω και μνημη γυμναζοντες τας ψυχας, εκπικως εκαστα των γεγραμμενων αναγινωσκουσι· Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. III. p. 145.

" and introduced at firſt merely for want " of them," that did not the wildeſt Whimſies ſometimes find their ſerious Abetters, even amongſt Perſons otherwiſe of good Underſtanding, I ſhould be tempted to wonder, how the contrary Opinion to this could ever have met with any ſenſible Advocate. Yet ſo it has proved, *Philemon*; " and the comparative neceſſary Imperfec- " tion of Picture, to literary Characters— " their want of Verbs and connective Par- " ticles — the ſuppoſed inaccurate Way of " writing them in the firſt Ages, eaſily " open to Miſtakes of their Meaning — " the obſerved Intermixture of both ſorts " of Characters in remaining *Egyptian* " Monuments, the one inſerted to help " out the defective Senſes of the other — " (all of which I cannot but think ſtrong " Arguments of Letters being *leſs antient*, " becauſe ſo much *more uſeful* than *Hie-* " *roglyphics*") are by an Author of no leſs Diſtinction than the knowing and ingenious Mr. *Shuckford*, in his " Connection of the " Sacred and Profane Hiſtory" produced as Evidences on the quite oppoſite ſide of this Queſtion *. In ſuch very different Lights do different Perſons ſee the ſame Objects! One farther Inſtance of which, with regard to myſelf and this Writer, (for whom nevertheleſs I have a juſt Eſteem)

I

* See Shuck. Con. vol. II. p. 295-6.

I cannot help remarking here, becauſe it ſeems to me a very extraordinary one. " The Men of the firſt Ages (ſays he) " could much ſooner invent and learn a " *rude Character*, than they could acquire " Art enough to draw Pictures. And " therefore ſuch a Character, 'tis moſt pro- " bable, was firſt invented and made uſe " of *." As if the mere Eaſineſs of the Writing or Figuring part was all that was here to be conſidered, and not rather, and principally, the Eaſineſs of the Underſtanding. For in this View ſurely, the Picture of an Animal diſtinguiſhed by ſome remarkable Quality, tho' ever ſo *ill drawn*, would at leaſt bid *fairer* to ſuggeſt to Mens Minds the Idea of that Quality, than a merely *arbitrary* Mark of the ſame Quality can be ſuppoſed to do: The one kind of Subſtitute relying wholly for its interpretation upon unaſſiſted Memory; the other, (though I deny not but it was liable to be ſometimes miſtaken) having generally, as we may ſay, Nature, as well as Art, on its ſide; ſomething of an *inherent Significancy* in it; an Aptneſs of itſelf to point out its particular Meaning.

THIS is a ſtrong Inſtance (I interrupted) *Hortenſius*, of what I remember to have often heard you complain of, " Mens in- " terpreting

* See Shuck. Con. vol. II. p. 296.

" terpreting Antiquity by modern Ideas." And it ſhews evidently the falſeneſs of this Rule of Interpretation. The Author probably had his Eye upon Alphabetic Writing in his own time; of which though the Uſe be wholly founded in Memory, yet we are apt to think but meanly of a Man's Attainments, who is at a loſs to read and underſtand his own Mother Tongue at leaſt. And yet when one conſiders how much time it actually takes up to teach a Child, or an abſolutely ignorant grown Perſon, the *due* Uſe of his Letters, even *now* that the Marks of them are ready formed to his hands, with a Compendium which ſome have thought ſuper-natural — that Inſtruction this way is reduced to Rule and Method — and moreover that Language itſelf is contrived with much artificial Aſſiſtance to the Memory in the mechanical Structure and Compoſition of it — If this, I ſay, be well conſidered, *Hortenſius*, one ſhall have but little to expect from an artleſs Multiplication of *rude Characters*, in equally rude Ages, towards carrying on any competent degree of literary Commerce amongſt Mankind. In which way of Thinking one is not a little confirmed by reflecting, that in *China*, where this ſort of rude Character is made uſe of, a Man is ranked, as we are informed, amongſt the *Learned*, who underſtands a

moderate Proportion of Words only in the vulgar Language of his Country*. There is no queſtion therefore, I think, to be made, but that *Hieroglyphics* were the firſt Step Mankind gained towards Writing: Or, that the Original Way they had of communicating with one another at a diſtance was, either by ſuch a Picture, or Emblem-Character, as you have repreſented.

NATURE (reſumed he) *Philemon*, the ſureſt Guide in all Queſtions of Antiquity, if I have any Judgment this way, would ſuggeſt to them a Communication of this kind previouſly to any other. A Sentiment, which is confirmed by Fact, as well as Reaſon, if it be true, what ſome Writers upon this Subject have aſſerted to us, "that the original Faſhion of Letters with "the *Egyptians*," (a People amongſt the firſt who uſed, if they did not invent an Alphabet)

* By all I can gather out of ſo many Authors as have written of *China*, they have no Letters at all, but only ſo many Characters, expreſſing ſo many Words; theſe are ſaid by ſome to be Sixty, by others Eighty, and by others Sixſcore Thouſand. The Learning of *China* therefore conſiſts firſt in the Knowledge of their Language. Sir *W. Temple*'s Works, Fol. p. 201. The Number of Letters they (the *Chineſe*) uſe is exceſſive—It is true he who can make good uſe of Twenty Thouſand is a good Scholar. *Navarette*'s Account of the Empire of *China*, Book III. chap. 11. In Collect. of Voyages, &c. Vol. I. p. 131.

phabet) " was taken from the Forms, Mo-
" tions, or Poſtures of Animals before ap-
" plied to *Hieroglyphical* Repreſentation *".
Thus, for Inſtance, the firſt Letter of their Alphabet, 'tis ſaid, is only the Beak of the *Ibis* placed croſs-wiſe upon its two Legs: As their Delta is the Legs of the ſame *Ibis* conſidered together with the Line of the Earth which they include in ſtanding upon it †. But to let this paſs, as a matter perhaps more curious, than certain; and without entering farther into the Age of *Hieroglyphic* Writing; the Grounds of it, we have ſeen, are laid in " the practicable Sub-
" ſtitution of one Thing, for another, upon
" the account of a certain Similitude or
" Analogy of their reſpective Qualities:
" Of preſent, and viſible Objects for paſt,
" or diſtant ones: Or, more comprehen-
" ſively, of Ideas of the Senſes, for thoſe
" of Memory or Underſtanding." In which View of the matter, *Philemon*, the natural Conception, I think, which offers itſelf is, that in the *Hieroglyphic*, as in every other Species of Art, the eaſieſt Productions were doubtleſs the firſt: Or, that the moſt ſim-

* Invenimus primam literarum Egyptiarum στοιχειωσιν ex quatuordecim literis fuiſſe concinnatam, ut recte quoque *Clemens*, *Euſebius*, cæterique tradunt, ex ſacrorum Animalium formâ, inceſſu, aliarumque corporis Partium ſitibus deſumptam. Kircher. Obeliſc. Pamph. p. 125.

† See Kircher, as before.

ple kinds of ſymbolical Repreſentation are, generally ſpeaking, to be eſteemed the moſt antient ones. Thus, of two of the Repreſentations which the *Egyptians* are related to have made of a Month, the one " by " a Moon with the Horns turned down-" wards, and the other by a Branch of the " Palm-Tree * ;" that of the Moon, one cannot avoid thinking, muſt have been firſt brought into Uſe : It being much more obvious to obſerve, " that the Moon to-" wards the end of her Period always ap-" pear'd in ſuch a manner," which was the reaſon of this Symbol ; than, " that it was " the Nature of the Palm-Tree to put out a " new Shoot preciſely every Month," which was the Foundation of the other. So again, a Mole might much more eaſily come to ſignify Blindneſs † — Two Men joining Hands, Concord ‡ — A Man armed, and ſhooting Arrows, a Riot ‖ — Feet walking upon

* Μηνα γραφοντες, Βαϊν ζωγραφουσιν, (Αιγυπτιοι) η σεληνην επεστραμμενην εις το κατω· Βαϊν μεν, της προειρημενης επι του Φοινικος αιτιας χαριν (δια το δενδρου τουτο μονον των αλλων, κατα την ανατολην της σεληνης, μιαν Βαϊν γεννᾶν. Horap. Hierog. Lib. I. Hierog. 3.) Σεληνην δε επεσταμμενην εις το κατω, επειδη, φασιν, εν τη ανατολη προς το ανω τοις κερασιν εσχηματισθαι, εν δε τη αποκρυψει, εις το κατω τοις κερασι νευειν. Horap. Hierog. lib. 1. Hierog. 4.

† Horap. lib. 2. Hierog. 63.

‡ Lib. 2. Hierog. 11.

‖ Ibid. Hierog. 12.

upon Water, an Impoſſibility *—A Hog, a Perſon transformed by his Debaucheries into a Beaſt †—or a Hawk upon the Wing, the ſwift Courſe of the Wind ‡—The Analogies in all theſe Inſtances being of the moſt ſimple and ſtriking Kinds—Than the the Number 1095, the Complement of Days to the Term of three Years, could come to ſignify Silence, " becauſe a Child " which does not get the uſe of its Speech " in that time, never afterwards obtains " it ‖." Or, a She-Panther to ſtand for a concealed Villain, " becauſe that Animal " hunts for its Prey ſecretly, and keeps in " the Scent of its Breath, to avoid giving " the Creature it has a Deſign upon any " ſufficient notice of its Approach §." Or again, than a Man's never ſtirring out of his own Doors could be expreſſed by an Ant, and the Wings of a Bat, " becauſe the " Feathers

* Horap. lib. 1. Hierog. 58.

† Horap. Hierog. lib. 2. Hierog. 37.

‡ Lib. 2. Hierog. 15.

‖ ΑΦωνιαν γραφοντες, αριθμον χιλια ενενηκοντα πεντε γραφουσιν. ὁς τριετοῦς εστι χρονου αριθμος, εκ τριακοσιων εξηκοντα πεντε ἡμερων του ετοῦς ὑπαρχοντος· εφ' ὁν χρονον μη λαλησαν το παιδιον σημειοῦται ὡς παραπεποδισμενον τη γλωσση. Horap. Hierog. Lib. I. Hierog. 28.

§ Ανθρωπον εμφωλευοντα ἑαυτω κακιαν, και αποκρυπτοντα ἑαυτον, ὡστε μη γνωσθηναι τοις ιδιοις, θελοντες σημηναι, Παρδαλιν ξωγραφουσιν· αυτη γαρ κρυφα τα ζωα θηρευει, μη συγχωρουσα την ιδιαν οσμην αφιεναι, καταδιωκτικην ουσαν των αλλων ζωων. Horap. Lib. II. Hierog. 90.

" Feathers of a Bat placed at the Entrance " of an Ant's Neſt keeps all the Ants ſtrictly " confined there *."—Or laſtly, than the *Cucuba* could be made the Emblem of Gratitude " becauſe it was obſerved of " that Bird, that it took a very particular " Care of its aged Parents; building them " a Neſt in the ſame Place where it had " been hatched and brought up itſelf; " aſſiſting them with its Beak at the time " of loſing their old Feathers; and fur- " niſhing them with Food till that Seaſon " was over, and they were again able to " ſupport themſelves †"—And yet, *Philemon*, the Analogies here concerned, are not, I aſſure you, a fiftieth part ſo refined, as numberleſs others I could mention to you, upon which much of this *Hieroglyphic* Language was founded. But I the rather inſtance in the Particulars before us, becauſe they relate altogether to common Life,

* Ανθρωπον απροϊτον βουλομενοι σημηναι, μυρμηκα και πτερα νυκτεριδος ζωγραφουσιν· διοτι τιθεμενων των πτερων εις την νεοσσιαν των μυρμηκων, ου προερχεται αυτων τις. Horap. Hierog. Lib. 2. Hierog. 64.

† Ευχαριστιαν γραφοντες, κουκουβαν ζωγραφουσι· διοτι τουτο μονον των αλογων ζωων επειδαν ὑπο των γονεων εκτραφη, γερασασιν αυτοις την αυτην ανταποδιδωσι χαριν· εν ᾧ γαρ ὑπ' αυτων εξετραφη τοπω νεοσσιαν αυτοις ποιησας, τιλλει αυτων τα πτερα, τροφας τε χορηγεῖ, μεχρις ὅυ πτεροφυησαντες οἱ γονεις βοηθειν εαυτοις δυνηθῶσιν. Horap. Lib. 1. Hierog. 55.

Life; which was unqueſtionably the firſt Subject Mankind had occaſion to write about.

So that (I interrupted) in the times we are ſpeaking of, to be able to write and read well, *Hortenſius*, a Man muſt have been a very tolerable *Naturaliſt*. Methinks, I cannot help obſerving here, the learning one's Letters in theſe Days muſt have been a far more agreable, as well as uſeful Imployment, than it is in our modern Ages; ſince inſtead of going to one's *Horn-Book*, or one's *Primmer*, for the Character and Compoſition of A's and B's, the Scholar had the far nobler Volume of Nature before him; and could not improve in *Words* without a correſpondent Progreſs in *Things*. 'Tis pity this double Improvement is not a little more conſulted in modern Education. Language, we are very truely told, is the great Key to Knowledge; but as the matter is too commonly managed with us, 'tis really a great while before it opens any part of it to our Minds. How much time is by moſt People in their Youth ſpent in mere mechanical Reciting, before any farther uſeful Information is ſo much as thought of for them! whereas, there is ſomething of Fancy and Ingenuity in the firſt Aſpect of the *Hieroglyphic* Science: in being able to improve every Object one meets with into an Inſtru-

ment of mutual Correſpondence; and to make the mute, and even inanimate part of the Creation, thus ſignificantly expreſs our Minds for us. I think this Art is now loſt to the World. We hear indeed ſometimes of Letters conveyed to Perſons at a Diſtance by certain *feathered* Meſſengers; And a Dog, if I miſtake not, in a late celebrated Inſtance, was thought to ſignify a Treaſonable Correſpondence: But neither of theſe Caſes are at all equal to the Point in queſtion. We ſeem to conſider the World of Animals as deſigned wholly for groſſer Purpoſes, than thoſe of converſing by them; unleſs now and then we ſet them on talking and moralizing in a human Voice and Accent, and think proper to give a Lecture to our own Species under ſome or other of their borrowed Forms.

THE Ingenuity, (returned *Hortenſius*) *Philemon*, of the *Hieroglyphic* Art was in time the Ruin of it; as it gave occaſion to that total Abuſe of the Inſtitution of *Symbolic* Writing, by which, what was intended to explain Mens Thoughts, became the moſt effectual Means of perplexing them; and what began in eaſy and familiar Uſe, degenerated in concluſion into unintelligible Myſtery: inaſmuch as Men of a more thoughtful and ſpeculative Complexion grew by degrees to write ſo much *above the common*

mon Level, as to be underſtood by no body but themſelves. Which was more eſpecially the Caſe, after the *Hieroglyphics*, as we ſhall ſee, became ſacred; and, from being practiſed at firſt in the humble Concerns of ordinary Life, were applied moſtly to the higher Subjects of Science or Divinity. In the mean while, one Inconvenience which ſoon attended this *Hieroglyphical* way of Writing, and which doubtleſs aſſiſted to the Abuſe I have been mentioning, was the Number of equivocal Senſes which the ſame Word often had, grounded upon the *different* Qualities or Conceptions of the ſame ſenſible Repreſentation. Thus, as we learn from the ſixth *Hieroglyphic* in the Collections of *Horapollo*, " a Hawk was either " the Sun, or Exaltation, or ſome extraor- " dinary Fall, or Preeminence, or Blood, " or Victory. The Sun; as being an Ani- " mal remarkably prolific, and long-lived; " and moreover from its great Strength of " Sight ſeeming to be a kind of natural " Image of him. Exaltation; becauſe the " Hawk by his perpendicular Flight eaſily " riſes above any other Bird. Falling; " from the quick and immediate Deſcents " he is obſerved to make from the greateſt " heights. Preeminence; becauſe he is of a " ſuperior Nature to other Animals of the " Feathered Kind. Blood; becauſe that " is thought to be his Drink and Nouriſh-

" ment. Victory; becauſe he has the Art " to overcome any Bird who encounters " him, though ſuperior to him in Strength, " by turning himſelf upon his Back in the " Air, whenever he is in danger of being " worſted by his Antagoniſt." So again the *Hieroglyphic* of the *Beetle* ſtood " for " any thing produced from a ſingle Cauſe; " for Birth; or the beginning to exiſt; " for the World; a Father; and a Man." The Reaſons may be ſeen in the tenth *Hieroglyphic* of the Author juſt mentioned. In like manner the *Vultur* was made to ſignify " a Mother; or Sight; or a Boundary " of Land; or Preſcience; or a Year; or " the Heavens; or Mercy; or Unity;" as the ſame Writer informs us in his eleventh *Hieroglyphic*.

THE being ſometimes thus equivocal (ſaid I) is but a Defect which the *Hieroglyphic* Language has in common with moſt other Languages; eſpecially, if the Orientaliſts are to be relied on in this matter, with the more Antient and Eaſtern ones; in which, I am ſure, the ſame Word has often as many ſeveral, and ſometimes widely different Meanings, as the moſt complicated *Hieroglyphic* you can pitch upon. But the Context in ſuch Inſtances of both kinds is the Rule by which to aſcertain the Senſe: and in moſt Caſes, I ſhould think, would

do it with tolerable Exactneſs. But after all, *Hortenſius*, it was but an idle ſort of Oeconomy in the Coiners of this *Hieroglyphic* Language, to be thus frugal of their Words, when they had the whole compaſs of Nature in their power, to furniſh themſelves with a ſufficiently copious Expreſſion.

THEY were like other Framers of Languages, (replied he) more ſtudious of Abridgment than Perſpicuity; and willing moreover, I ſuppoſe, to ſave the Trouble of writing more than was abſolutely neceſſary. Tho', on the other hand, *Philemon*, if one conſiders, a little Parſimony *here* is at leaſt more excuſable than in Alphabetic Language; ſince it was a far eaſier matter for them to acquaint themſelves with the *united Properties* of the ſame Objects, than to diſtinguiſh to a ſufficient Degree the *appropriated Peculiarities* of different ones. And yet again, upon ſecond Thoughts, I know not, but it had ſtood them in almoſt as little Expence of Time and Obſervation, (and I am ſure it had been a far more uſeful Application of both) thus to have inlarged in many Caſes their Stock of Words in this Emblematic Language, as it muſt have done to contract them in the Method they have taken, by attending to ſuch *nice* and *intricate* Analogies of Objects to one another, as are the Ground of theſe *Hieroglyphical*

" ment. Victory; becauſe he has the Art " to overcome any Bird who encounters " him, though ſuperior to him in Strength, " by turning himſelf upon his Back in the " Air, whenever he is in danger of being " worſted by his Antagoniſt." So again the *Hieroglyphic* of the *Beetle* ſtood " for " any thing produced from a ſingle Cauſe; " for Birth; or the beginning to exiſt; " for the World; a Father; and a Man." The Reaſons may be ſeen in the tenth *Hieroglyphic* of the Author juſt mentioned. In like manner the *Vultur* was made to ſignify " a Mother; or Sight; or a Boundary " of Land; or Preſcience; or a Year; or " the Heavens; or Mercy; or Unity;" as the ſame Writer informs us in his eleventh *Hieroglyphic*.

THE being ſometimes thus equivocal (ſaid I) is but a Defect which the *Hieroglyphic* Language has in common with moſt other Languages; eſpecially, if the Orientaliſts are to be relied on in this matter, with the more Antient and Eaſtern ones; in which, I am ſure, the ſame Word has often as many ſeveral, and ſometimes widely different Meanings, as the moſt complicated *Hieroglyphic* you can pitch upon. But the Context in ſuch Inſtances of both kinds is the Rule by which to aſcertain the Senſe: and in moſt Caſes, I ſhould think, would

do it with tolerable Exactneſs. But after all, *Hortenſius*, it was but an idle ſort of Oeconomy in the Coiners of this *Hieroglyphic* Language, to be thus frugal of their Words, when they had the whole compaſs of Nature in their power, to furniſh themſelves with a ſufficiently copious Expreſſion.

THEY were like other Framers of Languages, (replied he) more ſtudious of Abridgment than Perſpicuity; and willing moreover, I ſuppoſe, to ſave the Trouble of writing more than was abſolutely neceſſary. Tho', on the other hand, *Philemon*, if one conſiders, a little Parſimony *here* is at leaſt more excuſable than in Alphabetic Language; ſince it was a far eaſier matter for them to acquaint themſelves with the *united Properties* of the ſame Objects, than to diſtinguiſh to a ſufficient Degree the *appropriated Peculiarities* of different ones. And yet again, upon ſecond Thoughts, I know not, but it had ſtood them in almoſt as little Expence of Time and Obſervation, (and I am ſure it had been a far more uſeful Application of both) thus to have inlarged in many Caſes their Stock of Words in this Emblematic Language, as it muſt have done to contract them in the Method they have taken, by attending to ſuch *nice* and *intricate* Analogies of Objects to one another, as are the Ground of theſe *Hieroglyphical*

Equivocations *. But this, tho' it would have added greatly to the Uſefulneſs of *Hieroglyphical* Writing, would haven taken off much from the *Myſtery* of it: An End, to which the *Hieroglyphics* came in time to be ſo almoſt univerſally applied, that many People have been led to believe they were originally invented for this very Purpoſe; and that the Progreſs of them was not, as I have repreſented it, from common Life, into Subjects of Religion, but, on the contrary, from Religion, into common Life.

THE Courſe you have aſſigned them, (ſaid I) is, I think, both the moſt natural in

* Μονογενες δηλουντες, η Κοσμον, Καν∂αρον ζωγραφουσι· μονογενες μεν, ὁτι αυτογενες εστι το ζωον, ὑπο ∂ηλειας μη κυοφορουμενον·——Κοσμον δε, επειδη κοσμοειδη την γενεσιν ποιειται·——Επειδαν ὁ αρσην Βουληται παιδοποιησασθαι, Βοος αφοδευμα λαβων, πλασσει σφαιροειδες παραπλησιον τω κοσμω σχημα· ὁ εκ των οπισθιων μερων κυλισας απο ανατολης εις δυσιν, αυτος προς ανατολην Βλεπει, ἱνα αποδῶ το του κοσμου σχημα· αυτος γαρ απο του απηλιωτου εις λιβα φερεται· ὁ δε των αστερων δρομος απο λιβος εις απηλιωτην· ταυτην ουν την σφαιραν κατορυξας εις γην κατατιθεται επι ἡμερας εικοσι οκτω, εν ὁταις και ἡ σελην ἡμεραις τα δωδεκα ζωδια κυκλευει· ὑφ' ἡν απομενον ζωογονειται το των καν∂αρω γενος· τη ενατη δε και εικοστη ἡμερα ανοιξας την σφαιραν, εις ὑδωρ Βαλλει· ταυτην γαρ την ἡμεραν νομιζει συνοδον ειναι σεληνης και ἡλιου, ετι δε και γενεσιν κοσμου· ἡς ανοιγομενης εν τω ὑδατι ζωα εξερχεται· Horap. Hierog. lib. 1. Hierog. 10.

in itſelf, and the moſt ſuitable to the known reſerved and involved Manner of the *Egyptian* Prieſthood; who, had the *Hieroglyphics* been originally a learned or ſacred Character *only*, would hardly, I perſuade myſelf, have ſuffered them to be afterwards proſtituted to common and ordinary Subjects.

And yet, (returned he) in the Accounts we have of the Obeliſks of *Seſoſtris* and *Rameſſes*, Perſons who lived long after the Introduction of Symbolic, or Animal Worſhip into *Egypt*, we meet with *Hieroglyphics* applied to very different Purpoſes from Religious ones. Of two of thoſe of the former of theſe Princes, we are informed, that their Inſcriptions ſet forth, " the Extent of " his Power, the flouriſhing Condition of his " Revenue, and the Number of his Vic- " tories †." And, wherever he made any Conqueſt, we are told, his Practice was to erect Pillars, upon which, together with other Inſcriptions proper to the Occaſion, he left behind him, " certain obſcene Em- " blems of the *manly* or *effeminate* Tem- " per of the conquer'd Nation *." For the

† Τοτε μεγεθος της δυναμεως, και το πληθος των προσοδων, και τον αριθμον των καταπολεμηθεντων εθνων. Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. I. p 37.

* Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. I. p. 35.

the Inſcription of the famed Obeliſk of *Rameſſes*, now ſtanding at *Rome*, you are not to be informed, *Philemon*, that it is of the *Kind* we are now ſpeaking of; and yet we know from *Hermapion*'s Tranſlation of it, that it is a mere Piece of fulſome Panegyric to that vain Monarch; ſuch as gives one, I have often thought, a much more contemptible Idea of his Subjects, than it does a great one of himſelf *. I am ſenſible the learned *Kircher* condemns *Hermapion*'s Tranſlation here, as contrary to the whole Tenor and Genius of the *Hieroglyphic* Character; which, as he tells us, "was never uſed to record the Praiſes "and Victories of Kings, but confined "wholly to ideal and intellectual Mat-"ters †." But Antiquity, a much better Judge doubtleſs in the Caſe, is unanimous in thinking otherwiſe: And this Author, 'tis well known, has his head ſo full of the myſterious Wiſdom of the *Egyptians*, that he will needs wreſt every thing to ſome recondite Meaning with them. As if a Darkneſs, like that which was once providentially brought upon their Country, had univerſally ſpread itſelf over their Underſtandings; and becauſe their *Hieroglyphics* had

* Vide Am. Marcell. Lib. 17.

† Kirch. Obeliſc. Pamphyl. p. 151. Doctrinam Hieroglyphicam, non Regum laudes & victorias continere, ſed ſolas res ideales & intellectuales.

had too often an intricate Intendment, therefore they could never poſſibly have an obvious one. But 'tis amuſing enough to obſerve, how Men will labor for a Favorite Hypotheſis.

As the learned Author (interpoſed I) was ſo determined, it ſeems, to aſſert the every where high and important Conſtruction of the *Hieroglyphic* Writing, I think he had fully anſwered his purpoſe here, by conſidering the Inſcription we are ſpeaking of as of a more *raiſed* and *dignified* kind, from its relation to the Subject and Conduct of *Majeſty*; inſtead of going thus againſt the Senſe of Antiquity, no leſs than that of the Tranſlator, to ſupport his recondite Syſtem.

To ſay the Truth, *Philemon*, (returned he) I have often thought the Monument in queſtion, with thoſe other *Egyptian* Monuments which remain to us, inſcribed in the *Hieroglyphic* Character, to be ſo far from Evidences of the univerſally ſublime and myſterious Senſe of the *Egyptian Hieroglyphics*, that I would not deſire a ſtronger Evidence of the contrary: Inaſmuch as they give us good Reaſon to believe, that *Hieroglyphics* in their firſt Inſtitution in *Egypt*, were, as has been ſaid, nothing more than the *Original Character, or common Writing of the Country*; which, having obtained a Reverence from this very Cir-

Circumſtance of its Antiquity, was for this reaſon uſed in all *Public Inſcriptions*, even after the Introduction of Alphabetic Writing for more ordinary and familiar Intercourſe. But however the *Hieroglyphics* may have been ſometimes indifferently applied to Civil, or Sacred, ſo they were but Public Uſes, 'tis time for us to conſider them under the more diſtinguiſhed Notion of a *Religious* Character or Expreſſion; the only one, as has been before obſerved, in which they properly relate to our preſent Speculation. And here, amidſt the ſeveral ridiculous, inadequate, or unnatural Accounts which have been given us of the Origin of Symbolic Worſhip in *Egypt*, the Principles we have been eſtabliſhing will afford us, I think, the only true, however ſimple a Solution of this Problem.

THE ſimpler, (ſaid I) *Hortenſius*, certainly the more probable. The beginnings of Science never lie very deep: Subtilty and Refinement are laborious Operations, and require Time and repeted Thought for their Production.

YOU will obſerve then, (proceeded he) that as *Hieroglyphics* with the *Egyptians* were the *Original Writing of common Life*, one of the Subjects, which would often occur to be expreſſed by them, would be *Perſonal*

Perſonal Characters. Accordingly in the Collection of them by *Horapollo*, we find certain *characteriſtic* Emblems appropriated to expreſs almoſt all the more common and ordinary Turns of the human Temper, and Paſſages of human Conduct. Thus to ſignify a Woman's continuing in her firſt State of Widowhood, the *Egyptians* deſcribed a particular kind of a black Pidgeon *; as they did a Swallow for a Man who had left all his Poſſeſſions to his Children †. To have been naturally of a meek and compoſed Diſpoſition, but provoked by ill Uſage, was repreſented by the Emblem of a Pidgeon with its Tail erected ‡. To have deſerted one's Family thro' Want, by that of a She-Hawk which had juſt laid its Eggs ‖. The attempting things beyond a Man's Ability, was ſignified by a Bat **. The having brought Inconveniences upon himſelf, by a Beaver *†. The being irreſolute and unequal to himſelf, by an Hyæna *‡. When they would characterize any Perſon who had never been out of his own Country, or Diſtrict, they figured

O him

* Horap. Hierog. Lib. 2. Hierog. 32.
† Ibid. Hierog. 31.
‡ Ibid. Hierog. 48.
‖ Ibid. Hierog. 99.
** Ibid. Hierog. 52.
*† Ibid. Hierog. 65.
*‡ Ibid. Hierog. 69.

him with the Head of an Aſs *. When a *Fuller*, two Feet ſtanding in Water †. The being of a moroſe, unſociable Spirit, was emblematically expreſſed by an Eel ‡. The having lived to a good old Age, by a dead Raven ||. A reformed Debauchee, by a Bull tied to a wild Fig-tree **. A gluttonous Perſon, by a Scare-fiſh *†. A Murderer brought to Repentance by Puniſhment, by a Fork-fiſh taken with a Hook *‡. This Article, *Philemon*, might be infinitely inlarged, and the Analogies in every Inſtance diſtinctly noted and explained; but it would take up too much of our Time, and is the leſs needful, after what has been already diſcourſed of the general Nature of the *Hieroglyphic* Writing.

You may proceed in your own Method (ſaid I) *Hortenſius*; I cannot but ſay I could have ſome Pleaſure in having theſe ſeveral Analogies pointed out to me; but perhaps this is not the place for them: And I would not give you more Trouble than is neceſſary, or divert you too much from the principal Scope of our Inquiry.

The

* Horap. Hierog. Lib. I. Hierog. 23.
† Ibid. Hierog. 65.
‡ Lib. II. Hierog. 103.
|| Ibid. Hierog. 89.
** Ibid. Hierog. 77.
*† Ibid. Hierog. 109.
*‡ Ibid. Hierog. 112.

THE Emblems (reſumed he) I have hitherto mentioned, might be applicable to many different Perſons, as relating all along more to the Character concerned, than the particular Subject of it. Perſons however of more eminent Rank and Conſideration with the *Egyptians*, had, we muſt ſuppoſe, as the Reaſon of the Thing required, their more *diſtinguiſhing* and *ſelf-appropriated* Emblems aſſigned them. Thus, *Taautus*, or the *Egyptian Mercury*, is by *Sanchoniatho* ſaid to have expreſſed the Cares and Vigilance of Magiſtracy, in the Perſon of *Saturn*, " by an Image of him with " four Eyes, two before, and two behind, " as likewiſe two cloſed, and two open, in " his Head; and with four Wings, two " expanded, and two lying flat upon his " Shoulders: The Symbol of the Eyes " ſignifying, that *Saturn* in the Admini- " ſtration of his Authority, was often to ſee, " what he appeared not to ſee; and often " to wink at what he manifeſtly ſaw—— " That of the Wings; that *Saturn* was " often to have Intelligence of what paſ- " ſed, even where he could not be pre- " ſent at it; and often to ſeem ignorant " of what he was nevertheleſs fully ac- " quainted with *". I am aware, *Philemon*, you may think this Repreſentation a

* Euſeb. Præp. Evangel. Lib. I. p. 39. Ed. Par.

little too refined for ſo early an Age as that of *Taautus*. I do not therefore inſiſt here on its being litterally *his* Invention; (for I am ſenſible he has the Credit of many Inventions aſcribed to him, which were none of his) but mention it only as an Illuſtration of the more confined perſonal *Hieroglyphic*. Poſſibly, the Symbol of *Mercury* himſelf, which was that of the Dog, was of an earlier Introduction, as it is a much ſimpler Inſtance in the ſame Kind: "Not, "ſays *Plutarch* upon this Occaſion, that the "*Egyptians* eſteemed *Mercury* to reſemble "a Dog in any proper Senſe of the Word, "but their Meaning here was only to ap-"ply to him the guardian, watchful, and "diſtinguiſhing Quality of that Animal," founded upon certain analogous Circumſtances of his Hiſtoric Character †. In the ſame way of thinking, we find that *Pan*, one of the Companions of *Oſiris* in his foreign Expedition, was repreſented by a Goat ‡; as was *Jupiter*, the Father of *Oſiris*,

† Ου γαρ τον κυνα κυριως Ερμην λεγουσι, αλλα του ζωου το Φυλακτικον, και το αγρυπνον, και το Φιλοσοφον, γνωσει και αγνοια του Φιλου και το εχθρον ὁριζοντος, ἡ Φησιν ὁ Πλατων, τω λογιωτατω των Θεων συνοικειουσι. Plut. de Iſ. & Oſ. p. 355.

‡ Γραφουσι δε δη και γλυφουσι οἱ ζωγραφοι και οἱ αγαλματοποιοι του Πανος, καταπερ Ελληνες, τω γαλμα αιγοπροσωπον, και τραγοσκελεα. Herod. lib. 2. cap. 46.

Oſiris, by a Ram *; and *Typhon*, his profeſſed Adverſary and Murderer, by an Aſs, a Crocodile, and a River or Sea-Horſe: The firſt, as *Plutarch*'s Remark in the caſe is, the moſt ſtupid of all the tamer Animals; the other two, the fierceſt and moſt miſchievous of all the wilder ones †. For the original Grounds of the two Symbols of *Jupiter* and *Pan*, Antiquity has not, that I know of, ſatisfactorily explained them to us. Our great Countryman Sir *Iſaac Newton* is of opinion, that the one only ſignified *Jupiter* to have conquered *Libya*, a Country abounding with Sheep ‡; and the other, that *Pan* was a Perſon much addicted to Dancing ||. But from the After-Application we meet with both of the Symbol and Character of *Pan* in the *Mythologic* Ages, I have been ſometimes tempted to ſuſpect, that the Goat, in his Caſe, had, even from the firſt Uſe of it, a quite other Intendment than is here repreſented; and either ſignified him to have been of a very

* Κριοπροσωπον τωγαλμα του Διος ποιευσι Αιγυπτιοι. Ibid. cap. 42.

† Απονεμουσιν αυτω (τω Τυφωνι) των ημερων ζωων τον αμαθεστατον ονον, των δε αγριων θηριωδεστατα, κροκοδειλον, και τον ποταμιον ιππον. Plut. de Iſ. & Oſ. p. 371.

‡ The Chronology of ancient Kingdoms amended, p. 226.

|| The Chron. &c. p. 227.

very *ſalacious* Complexion, or the Father of a very *numerous* Offſpring *. Such however being the general Practice of the *Egyptians*, " to ſignify as well *Men*, as " *Things*, under certain *ſenſible Emblems*," you will eaſily conceive how *Oſiris*, the great Father of Agriculture to the *Egyptians*, ſhould come to be repreſented by them, as we find he was, under the Figure of a *Bull* or an *Ox*, the very Animal he had firſt made uſe of for this valuable Purpoſe †: As alſo how *Iſis* ſhould be ſignified by the Figure of a *Cow* ‡; both for the part ſhe had contributed towards Agriculture in the firſt diſtinction of Grain; as likewiſe more emphatically, 'tis probable, for her having taught either the *firſt*, or the *more improved* Uſe of the Cow's Milk: Which

* Ὅτευ δε ειυεκα τοιουτου γραφουσι αυτον (του Παυα) ου μοι ἡδιον εστι λεγειν. Herod. Lib. II. cap. 46. Τον δε ταυρον απεθεωσαν δια το γενητικον μοριον· το δε μοριον του σωματος το της γενεσεως αιτιον τιμασθαι φασι προσηκοντως, ὡς αν ὑπαρχου αρχεγονου της των ζωων φυσεως· Diodor. Sic. Bib. l. 1. p. 55.

† Τους δε ταυρους τους ἱερους τιμασθαι παραπλησιως τοις Θεοις, Οσιριδος καταδειξαντος, ἁμα δε και δια την της γεωργιας χρειαν, ἁμα δε και δια το των ευρουτων τους καρπους την δοξαν ταις τουτων ευεργεσιαις παραδοσιμον γεγονεναι τοις μεταγενεστεροις εις ἁπαντα τον αιωνα. Diodor. Sic. Bib. Lib. I. p. 79.

‡ Vid. Plut. de Iſ. & Oſ. p. 372.

I collect from one of thoſe *Dramatic* Ceremonies we were ſpeaking of, in the *Egyptian* Religion, inſtituted, I perſuade myſelf, in honor of this Invention, which is mentioned by the *Sicilian* Hiſtorian, to have been practiſed in a certain Iſland of the *Nile*; where the Prieſts, as he tells us, appointed to this Service, "filled every "Day three hundred and ſixty Veſſels with "Milk, near one of the ſuppoſed Places "of Interment of *Oſiris* and *Iſis*, lament-"ing, and calling upon their Names*". And now, *Philemon*, we are upon the very Confines of a *Symbolic Theology*. For the Figure of a Bull, as we ſay, having been the *Egyptian* Emblem of their beloved *Oſiris*, a Proportion at leaſt of the regard due to *himſelf*, would, even in his Lifetime,

* Ενιοι δε φασι ουκ εν Μεμφει κεισθαι τα σωματα τουτων των θεων, αλλ' επι των ὁρων της Αιθιοπιας και της Αιγυπτου, κατα την εν των Νειλω νησον κειμενην μεν προς ταις καλουμεναις Φιλαις· σημεια δε τουτου δεικνυουσιν εν τη νησω ταυτη διαμενοντα τον τε ταφον κατεσκευασμενον Οσιριδι, και τας περι τουτον κειμενας εξηκοντα και τριακοσιας χοας· ταυτας γαρ καθ' ἑκαστην ἡμεραν γαλακτος πληροῦν τους προς τουτοις ταχθεντας ἱερεις, και θρηνειν ανακαλουμενους τα των θεων ονοματα. Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. I. p. 19. Τους δε ταυρους τους ἱερους, τον τε ονομαζομενον Απιν, και τον Μνευιν, Οσιριδι καθιερωθηναι, και τουτους σεβεσθαι καθαπερ θεους, κοινῆ καταδειχθηναι πασιν Αιγυπτιοις. Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. I. p. 19.

time, doubtleſs, devolve upon this his privileged Subſtitute. But when, after his Death, he came to be *Deified*, the Matter ſoon took a much higher turn: What before was grateful Reſpect, now grew up into Religious Reverence. His Symbol was no longer that of a *Man*, but a *God*; till, by degrees, the Devotion of weak Minds ever inclining towards a ſenſible Preſence, and *Oſiris* having left nothing ſenſible behind him, upon Earth at leaſt, but his Benefactions, and his Symbol, the viſible Repreſentation took place of the inviſible *Demon*; and what had been for ſome time the ſtanding Expreſſion of his Character, became at length the favourite Inſtrument of is Adoration. You ſee, *Philemon*, even yet, tho' there was too much of Religion in the Caſe, there was nothing of Myſtery; the Matter was neither more, nor leſs, than what the moſt vulgar *Romaniſts* practiſe at this very Day, when to do honor to a ſuppoſed tutelar Saint, they ignorantly fall proſtrate before his Image. But tho' the Foundation of this Symbol-worſhip was not originally laid in any myſterious Speculation, it gave birth however in time to a great deal; inaſmuch as the *Hiſtoric* Gods of the *Egyptians* were by no means the only ones, who had the Privilege of this Repreſentation by Animals; but the Notion was by degrees extended to all

their

their various Syſtem of Phyſical Divinities. In the mean while, is it not, think you, the more natural Progreſs of things in this, as in all parallel Subjects, from what is eaſy and obvious, into what is abſtruſe, and recondite, than, on the other hand, from difficult and myſterious, into ſimple, and familiar Principles?

UNDOUBTEDLY (ſaid I) *Hortenſius*. 'Tis one of the moſt ſelf-evident Things imaginable. I am really ſurpriſed you ſhould aſk me the Queſtion. No Man in his ſober Senſes can think otherwiſe.

YOU are too apt (returned he) to judge of other Peoples way of Thinking by your own. What ſay you to Mr. *Shuckford*'s Authority in this point? He is both a Scholar, and a Man of Senſe: and yet he is clearly againſt us in this whole matter; and has publickly declared for the direct contrary Opinion. But this is not the only Inſtance in which this Author has ſacrificed Probability to Syſtem, and given up Nature, in order to ſerve, as he imagines, the Cauſe of Revelation.

BUT how (I interrupted) is that at all intereſted in the matter we are conſidering? It ſeems to me a mere Point of Antiquity, or Curioſity, in which *modern* Syſtems of

Belief at leaſt can have no manner of Concern.

I WILL explane this Affair to you, (ſaid he) *Philemon*. You know it is a favorite Topic with many of our Divines to depreciate Reaſon, the better to eſtabliſh the Neceſſity of what is called Faith with them. Now nothing can caſt a greater Reflection upon Reaſon, than to ſuppoſe that ſo wild and extravagant a Doctrine as that of the Emblematic Theology had its immediate Riſe from this Quarter; or that the *original* Practice of Brute-Worſhip in *Egypt* was a Reſult of pretended Speculation, and a more refined Philoſophy. Accordingly, our Author would perſuade us to think, that the *Origin* of paying Religious Worſhip before ſome Animal Repreſentation in *Egypt* was ſo far from having any Reference to *Oſiris*, or the other Hiſtoric Deities of the ſame Age, (for they had all of them, I would obſerve here once for all, their conſecrated Symbols, as well as he) that it was a Practice with the *Egyptians*, Ages before the Deification of theſe Heroes was ſo much as thought of. Nay, that the very Grounds of their applying religious Symbols to their Hero-Deities were laid in a preeſtabliſhed Uſage of this kind with regard to their natural ones. " The firſt " Step (ſays he) the *Egyptians* took, after

" they

" they worſhipped the Luminaries of Hea-
" ven, was to dedicate ſome living Crea-
" ture to each particular Deity, and to
" worſhip that Deity before ſuch Creature,
" or the Image of it *." If you aſk, how they fell into this Practice, which to our Apprehenſion *ſeems*, it is confeſſed, *odd and humourſome*, the Anſwer is, " Their " Speculation and Philoſophy led them into " it." When had they deſerted the ſure Guidance of Tradition, " they quickly fell " from one Fancy to another." And having once thought the Lights of Heaven *to be the Gods that governed the World*, " they " in a little time apprehended theſe Gods " to have made the living Creatures of " the Earth more or leſs Partakers of " their Divinity and Perfections," in order to convey a Knowledge of themſelves to Mankind †. I know not, *Philemon*, had our Author lived in *Egypt* in the Ages we are ſpeaking of, in *how little a time* he might have come to *apprehend this*; but I am ſure it would have coſt me a *great deal* to do it: ſince, in the Light it is here placed in, it appears, I muſt confeſs, to me, one of the *leaſt obvious* Apprehenſions imaginable. For, as the Queſtion is well put by the learned Writer himſelf,

 " of

* *Shuckford*'s Con. Vol. II. p. 278, 279.
† Shuck. Con. Vol. II. p. 279, 280.

" of what uſe can the Figure of a Beaſt " be, to raiſe in Mens Minds Ideas of the " ſidereal Deities * ?" Or, if on the other hand the Paſſage from Luminary to Brute-Worſhip be indeed ſo *quick* an one, as was juſt now repreſented, it will ever be a Deſideratum with me to conceive, whence it came to paſs, that no other Nation we are acquainted with beſides the *Egyptians*, how much ſoever it might rival them in *one* of theſe Articles of their Idolatry, ever did ſo in the *other?* But their Philoſophy, it ſeems, was as ſingular in this Caſe, as their Practice; neither of which could enter into the head of any People but themſelves.

It was a kind of local Infatuation (ſaid I) I ſuppoſe, with them; a Diſtemper of their Soil and Climate; a Species of Deluſion which could only have its Production in this choſen Land of abject Superſtition. Or, poſſibly, after all, it was ſome Influence of their *Stars themſelves:* ſome ſingular Aſpect of theſe Luminaries, which never took place but this once, and that only within the Horizon of *Egypt*, that gave birth to this wonderful Phænomenon; and by certain ſecret Intimations to their Worſhippers ſuggeſted this unuſual Mode of their own Idolatry. You

* Shuck. Con. Vol. II. p. 279.

You would have made an excellent *Egyptian*, (returned he) *Philemon*, to have talked at this rate of occult Reaſons, and ſecret Communications. You have here, I believe, ſtruck a Note of Refinement in behalf of Animal-Worſhip beyond any of its profeſſed Apologiſts in Antiquity. Had you hit off ſuch a Defence of it in *Egypt*, in the Times of this Superſtition, I almoſt fancy you would have had a whole College of her Prieſts to wait on you with the Compliment of Initiation, even without the Trouble of its preparatory Ceremonies. In the mean while, I, who love Nature much better than Viſions, am for acquitting both the Country and the Stars of *Egypt* in this Matter, and for tracing out the Source of Brute-Worſhip in the *Egyptians* themſelves. It had its Derivation, I make no queſtion, from the Practice of their common, and above all their *perſonal Hieroglyphics:* and, inſtead of ſaying with Mr. *Shuckford* here, "that the Uſe of Animals amongſt the "*Egyptians* for Images of their Deities "introduced an analogous Practice in their "Pictures of Men *;" I would ſay rather (and with much greater Probability, I think) "that their *Hieroglyphical* Manner of re-"preſenting to one another the Perſons and "Characters of *Men* gave Riſe to an ana-"logous

* Shuck. Con. Vol. II. p. 308, 309.

" logous Uſage with relation to their *Gods*." For, to mention, *Philemon*, ſome few of their Repreſentations in each kind—Was it not a much more eaſy and natural Thought, for them to ſignify *Oſiris*, the Father of Tillage, by the Figure of a Bull—Or *Iſis*, who taught them either the firſt Uſe, or the Improvement of Cows Milk, by that of a Cow—Or *Mercury*, the faithful Friend, and prudent Counſellor of them both, by the Watchfulneſs and Sagacity of the Dog? — Than it was " to fancy the " Hawk paid a natural Homage to the Sun, " and was an appoſite Symbol of him, be- " cauſe it is the only Bird, which can in- " dure a ſtrong Light without Pain; can " ſoar directly againſt the Sun-beams; and " is obſerved ſometimes to fly in a ſupine " Poſture, looking freely and ſteadily to- " wards Heaven, and towards the Eye of " him who ſees all Things *?"—Or, to think of repreſenting the Moon by a Cat, " becauſe

* Αιγυπτιοι τον ἱερακα Απολλωνι τιμᾶν εοικασι· και προσηκειν τω θεω, Φασι· ὁρωσι γαρ ἱερακες ορνιθων μονον αει, ευ ταις ακτισι του ἡλιου ραδιως και ἀβασανιστως Βλεποντες, και δυσωπουμενοι ἥκιστα· πορειαν τε την ανωτατω ἰασι, και αυτους ἡ θεια Φλοξ λυπει ουδεν· και αναπαλιν μεν τοι πετεσθαι τον ἱερακα ὁι ἰδοντες Φασιν ὡς ἐξ ὑπλιας νεοντα· ενθα τοι και προς τον ουρανον ὁρᾶ, και προς τον παντα ἐφορωντα, αλλα ελευθερως και ατρεπτως ὁ αυτος· Ælian. Hiſt. Animal. Lib. X. cap. 13.

" becauſe of the ſpotted Skin of this Animal; " its imploying itſelf moſtly in the Night-" time; and having the Pupil of its Eye " inlarged, or contracted, according to the " Moon's Increaſe or Wane*?"—Or again, to image the ſame Luminary by a Dog, " becauſe the young ones of this Species " are blind *thirteen* Days from their Birth, " which is the exact Number of the Days " in a Year, on which the Moon gives " abſolutely no Light †?" I might go on to inſtance in the Rams being held ſacred to the Sun, as the great Lord of Life, " from " its being obſerved to reſt the ſix Winter " Months of the Year, upon its left Side, " and the other ſix" (the Seaſon in which both the animal and vegetable World is in its moſt proſperous and flouriſhing State) " upon its right; changing its Poſture pre-" ciſely at the time of the autumnal and " vernal

* Τω δε αιλουρω αινιττονται την σεληνην δια το ποικιλον, και νυκτουργον, και γονιμον του θηριου.—αἱ δε εν τοις ομμασιν αυτου Κοραι πληρουσθαι μεν και πλατυνεσθαι δοκουσιν εν πανσεληνω, λεπτυνεσθαι δε και μαραυγειν εν ταις μειωσεσι του αστρου. Plut. de Iſ. & Oſ. p. 376.

† Τα σκυλακια τυφλα τικτεται, και ουκ ὁρᾶ της μητρος ωδῖνος προελθουτα, και τρισκαιδεκα ἡμερων των ωρωτων κατειληπται τω παθει τωδε, ὁταν και ἡ σεληνη ου φαινει νυκτωρ. Ælian. Hiſt. Animal. Lib. X. cap. 45.

" vernal Equinoxes *."—Or, in the Ape's being conſecrated to the Moon, as " having " a *natural Sympathy* with her; inaſ- " much as at the time of her Congreſs with " the Sun," the part of her Period in which with reſpect to the Earth ſhe is totally dark, " the Male Ape becomes blind; refuſes " its Food; and hangs down its Head to- " wards the Ground, as regretting the " Abſence of the Moon's Light; the Fe- " male Ape at the ſame Seaſon, beſides all " this, ſuffering a peculiar and periodical " Infirmity of her own †."—Or, I might take notice to you of———But the matter is, I dare ſay, already too evident, to need any farther Illuſtration.

As

* Ακουω τον κριον το ζωον εξ μηνων των χειμεριωτατων κατα της αριστερας πλευρας κειϲθαι και καθευδειν, ὁταν αυτου αιϲθει και περιλαμβανει ὑπνος· α το δε της εαρινης ιϲημεριας εμπαλιν ανακαυεϲθαι, κατα δε της δεξιας κειϲθαι. Ælian. Hiſt. Animal. Lib. X. cap. 18.

† Σεληνην γραφουτες (Αιγυπτιοι) κυνοκεφαλον ζωγραφουϲι· επειδη το ζωον τουτο ϲυμπαθειαν τινα προς την της θεου ϲυνοδον εκτηϲατο· ὁταν γαρ εν τω μερει της ὡρας ἡ σεληνη ϲυνοδευουϲα ἡλιω αφωτιϲτος γενηται, τοτε ὁ μεν αρϲην κυνοκεφαλος ου βλεπει, ουδε εϲθιει, αχθεται δε εις την γην νενευκως, καθαπερ πενθων της σεληνης ἁρπαγην· ἡ δε θηλεια μετα του μη ὁραν, και ταυτα τω αρρενι παϲχειν, ετι δε και εκ της ιδιας Φυϲεως αιμαϲϲεται· Horap. Hierog. Lib, I. Hierog. 14.

As much a *Myſtic* (interpoſed I) *Hortenſius*, as you was pleaſed juſt now in Raillery to paint me to yourſelf, believe me, I am very ready to deſcend with you out of the airy Regions of Fancy into the ſafer Paths of plain Nature; and can without difficulty give up both my Hypotheſis, and Initiation, to enter into ſuch a rational and ſatisfactory Sentiment of Things, as you have here laid before me.

THERE is (reſumed he) this farther Argument for the prior Date of Heroic Symbols to Phyſical; that the firſt natural Divinities of the *Egyptians*, the Sun, Moon, and Stars, were all of them Objects capable of a direct Repreſentation to Senſe by way of *Picture*, or μιμησις of the Things themſelves: which, as it is in itſelf the moſt obvious kind of Repreſentation of any Object, would doubtleſs take place with the *Egyptians*, wherever it was practicable: a Circumſtance, which muſt have precluded, it ſhould ſeem, the Uſe of Symbols with regard to their natural Gods, till ſuch time as, from the Application of them in the Worſhip of their civil Gods, the emblematic Turn of Thinking in Religion was grown to be the popular and prevailing one. And indeed, to ſhut up this Subject, *Philemon*, had the *Symbolic* Worſhip of Nature been introduced in *Egypt*, as Mr. *Shuckford*

every where maintains it was, before either the *ſymbolic*, or the *proper* Worſhip of her antient Heroes, I queſtion much, whether this latter Species of her Idolatry had ever been heard of. For it ſeems to me a little unlikely, that, after the *Egyptians* had acquired ſuch an exquiſite Sagacity in Thinking, as to be able to repreſent to themſelves, as we may ſay, the whole Creation in Emblem, they ſhould find any Temptation to idolize ſuch comparatively low and humble Efforts of human Genius, as the Invention of the firſt ſimpler Arts and Accommodations of Life.

THE true Riſe therefore of Animal-Worſhip in *Egypt* was, doubtleſs, of a much humbler Kind than Mr. *Shuckford* has repreſented. "It was originally only the "Worſhip of the antient Heroes of the "*Egyptians*, exalted by them after their "Deceaſe to the Character of Gods, thro' "the Medium of that particular Animal-"Repreſentation, which had been uſed in "*Hieroglyphic* Writing to diſtinguiſh their "ſeveral Perſons as Men." But the matter, however it might begin, did not, we find, reſt here; for the Idea of a *certain Divine Preſence* having once grown into an eſtabliſhed Connexion with the Image or Portrait of a *certain Animal*, it was eaſy for Superſtition or Artifice to improve upon this

this Hint; and to have it believed, that the God, who was thus conceived of as myſtically preſent to his Worſhippers in the dead Image, might ſometimes vouchſafe to become ſubſtantially ſo in the living Animal in Kind: a Notion, which accordingly prevailed in time with the *Egyptians* to ſuch an extravagant degree, that there was ſcarce a Species of Animals in their Country, ſome Individual whereof had not Divine Honors paid it, as the Temple of ſome or other of their Gods *. One of the moſt celebrated of theſe Brute-Divinities was the *Apis*: "A God," as *Lucian* humorouſly deſcribes him, "from out of the Herd †;" Or, in other Words, a Bull conſecrated to *Oſiris*; whoſe firſt Diſtinction from his Fellows was probably nothing more, than his ſuperior Size or Beauty ‡; though it was afterwards improved into his having a ſupernatural Conception, together with ſeveral *Myſtic Enſigns* of a Divine Charac-

 ter,

* Αιγυπτιοι δε θρησκευουσι περισσως τα τε αλλα περι τα ἱρα, και δη και ταδε· Αιγυπτος ου μαλα θηριωδης εστι, τα δε εοντα σφι απαντα ἱρα νενομισται· Herod. Lib. II. cap. 65.

† Εστι δε ὁ Απις εξ αγελης θεος· Lucian. de Sacrif. ap. Fin.

‡ Πολυ καλλιων και σεμνοτερος των ιδιωτων Βοων· Ibid. Ὁ δε Ἡλιω ανακειμενος εν Ἡλιου πολει καλουμενος Μνευις, Βοων εστι μεγιστος, σφοδρα μελας. Porph ap. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. Lib. III. cap. 13.

ter, to the Number, in *Ælian*'s Time, of twenty-nine: in virtue whereof, he was conſtituted not only, what we ſometimes find him called by the *Egyptians*, (and what alone, I perſuade my ſelf, was their firſt Idea of him) " the beautiful Image " of the Soul of *Oſiris* * ;" But, by a ſtill higher Privilege, the Image of the greateſt part of their *natural* Deities at the ſame time †. But theſe, *Philemon*, I paſs over at preſent, both, as they belong rather to the ſubſequent part of our Inquiry; and, as they were, paſt queſtion, Appendages to the original Superſtition of the *Apis*; a mere Contrivance of the *Egyptian* Prieſthood,

* Τον Απιν ὡς ευμορφον εικονα χρη νομιζειν της Οσιριδος ψυχης· Plut. de Iſ. & Oſ. p. 362.

† Θεος Αιγυπτιοις εναργεστατος ὁ Απις ειναι πιστευεται· γινεται δε εκ Βοος εις ἡν ουρανιον σελας εμπεσον σπορας αιτιον εστι τω προειρημενω——σημεια δε αυτου και γνωρισματα εννεα και εικοσι ειναι (Αιγυπτιοι) Φασιν· ὁτου δε των αστερων ἑκαστον σημειον δια συμβολου αινιττεται την Φυσιν, Αιγυπτιοι τεκμηριωσαι ἱκανοι· και γαρ τοι και την ανοδον την του Νειλου ὑποδηλοῦν σημειον Φασι, και το του κοσμου σχημα· ἀλλ' οψει τι και συμβολον, ὡς εκεινοι λεγουσιν, ὁπερουν αινιττεται του Φωτος ειναι το σκοτος πρεσβυτερον· και το μηνοειδες της σεληνης κατηγορει σχημα συνιεντι μερος αλλο· και αλλα δε επι τουτοις αλλων τε αινιγματα, βεβηλοις τε και αμαθεσιν ἱστοριας θεοπρεπους ουκ ευσυμβολα ταυτα οφθαλμοις οντα· Ælian. Hiſt. Animal. Lib. II. cap. 10.

hood, to get the Times of his Appearance, (for, I ſhould obſerve to you, he was not always ſuppoſed to be preſent in *Egypt*) into their own hands; and to have the making, as occaſion might offer, of one of the chief Objects of Worſhip in their Country.

And a very artful Contrivance too, (ſaid I) *Hortenſius*, for the Ends of Prieſtly Ambition and Emolument; as we have but too good Proof in the Hiſtory of modern Superſtition: whoſe Maſters, you know, throughout great part of *Chriſtendom*, have adopted this God-making Policy of the old *Egyptian* Hierarchs; which they accordingly practiſe frequently with equal Impudence, and Succeſs, in the Face of devout Multitudes, who, from an aweful Senſe of their high Prerogative in this matter, are inſlaved into a blind Submiſſion to their Authority in every other.

Before we have finiſhed our preſent Subject, (returned he) *Philemon*, you will find this is by no means the only Inſtance of Plagiariſm in modern Superſtition, from antient. Prieſtcraft, it ſhould ſeem, was a Science very ſoon brought to its Perfection in the World. It is obſerved of Arts in general, you know, that they never fail to flouriſh nnder a proper Incouragement: a Happineſs,

pineſs, which the Art we are ſpeaking of in particular could never want, as far backwards in Hiſtory as there was any ſuch thing as devout Weakneſs in human Nature. It carries indeed, in diſtinction from all other Arts, its immediate Recompence in its own hands: ſince, whoever has Addreſs enough to cheat People of their Liberties and their Poſſeſſions by applying himſelf to their Fears is ſure of being a ſufficient Gainer by his Profeſſion. But, to return from the political Application of Brute-Worſhip, to the original Inſtitution of it; for the preciſe Æra of theſe Animal-Gods in *Egypt*, we have little more than Conjecture to truſt to in this matter. The *Egyptian* Chronology, you may remember, ſeems to have determined the time of the Conſecration of the *Apis* to the Reign of *Ceachos*, the tenth Succeſſor in the *Thinite* Government. If the *Apis* was, as I am much inclined to believe, the firſt Inſtance of a Brute-God amongſt the *Egyptians*, the time here fixed for his Conſecration falls in, as I obſerved to you in our laſt Converſation, with the Age of *Suphis* at *Memphis*; whoſe general Character may make it not improbable, that he was the Author of this Fancy. Whether *Suphis* was more a Devotionaliſt, or a Politician, I know not; but he had, we find, a Head much turned to Religious Subjects: and, from the extra-

ordinary Acquaintance he is ſaid to have had with the Gods, muſt have underſtood, no doubt, beyond any of his Contemporaries, the *Modus* of their Divine Preſence.

WHICH was the Secret, (ſaid I) I ſuppoſe, he delivered down to his Succeſſors in Religious Politics in that *Sacred Book* you mentioned him to have been the Author of; a Depoſitum, it ſeems, whereby his Memory became ſo ſingularly indeared to them, that they could not let it paſs through their hands to After-Ages without entering a particular Teſtimony of their Obligations to him upon this account.

AND yet perhaps (returned he) the Secret, *Philemon*, was all this while nothing more, than that of humoring the Biaſs of popular Weakneſs; ſubmitting to govern the Multitude upon their own Terms; and leaving them to the Impreſſions of a falſe Species of Religion, as thinking them not fit to be truſted with the Principles of a truer one. I inquire not into the Merits of ſuch a way of Thinking; all I obſerve is, that it ſeems to have been the general Sentiment of more knowing Antiquity in the Point. And of this kind, I make no queſtion, was the *Egyptian* Brute-Worſhip: not originally a Deduction of their Philoſophy; (for then the *Greeks*, who

who learnt to Philoſophize in *Egypt*, would have fallen into the ſame Practice) but a mere *local* Accommodation to vulgar Prejudices; which, when they had taken too deep Root to be removed without hazard, as might be apprehended, to better Things, the Learned, as their manner ſeems to have been in all parallel Caſes, endeavoured to juſtify as well as they could; and to give them the beſt Colorings they were capable of. For indeed the Belief of Animal-Gods in *Egypt* was an Error of too great Conſequence to the Prieſthood, not to deſerve all the Countenance they could give it; nor need we doubt, but the Wiſdom of this Order would find ſomething to ſay for itſelf upon ſo intereſting an Occaſion. And here, as I take it, came in firſt the *Philoſophy* of repreſenting, as Mr. *Shuckford* well expreſſes the matter for us, " the Gods to have made " the living Creatures upon Earth more or " leſs Partakers of their Divinity and Per- " fections, in order to convey a Know- " ledge of themſelves to Mankind:" a Notion, which, as the ſame learned Writer remarks, " Men of the niceſt Inquiry pre- " tended to ſupport by many curious Ob- " ſervations upon particular Kinds of Ani- " mals*:" inſomuch, that *Porphyry* aſſures us, it came in time, upon this Principle, to be aſſerted by them, " as from a more " intimate

* Shuck. Con. Vol. II. p. 279, 280.

" intimate Knowledge of Divine Matters,
" that ſome Animals had ſo near a rela-
" tion to certain of the Gods, as to be
" even dearer to them than Mankind itſelf;
" as was (they maintained) the caſe of the
" Hawk in reſpect to the Sun, from a
" ſuppoſed Analogy of its Temperament
" to that of the Sun's Body *."

THIS was a Strain of Refinement indeed (ſaid I) *Hortenſius*. But after all I do not much wonder to find the human Species in *Egypt* ſunk ſo low in the Eſtimation of their ſpiritual Maſters, conſidering that they converſed with Mankind altogether in their Foibles; and found them capable of being made Tools to their ſeparate Intereſt and Ambition, by entering into ſuch abject and illiberal Sentiments of Things.

THE ſtanding ſo high (reſumed he) in the Favor of Heaven, as in the Inſtance here mentioned, was the Lot only of ſome few privileged Animals: or rather, probably, was an occaſional Compliment in the hands of the Prieſthood, to be beſtowed

* Εκ της περι το θειον συντροφιας κατελαβον τισι των θεων προσφιλη των ζωων τινα μαλλον των ανθρωπων· ως ηλιω ιερακα, συμπασαν μεν την φυσιν εξ αιματος εχοντα, και πνευματος, και ζην μεν επι πλειονα ετη· Porph. de Abſtinentiâ, Lib. IV. Sect. 9.

here and there, upon certain ſpecial Emergencies. However this might be, the general Plea for Animal-Worſhip, as ſoon as the Learning of *Egypt* had ingaged in the Patronage of it, was, as has been ſaid, " the relation which the ſeveral kinds of " conſecrated Animals had to ſome or other " of the Gods, in quality of *Emblems*, or " *ſenſible Repreſentations*, of their divine " Powers and Properties: " ſeveral alledged Examples whereof having been occaſionally produced, whilſt we were diſcourſing at large of the *Hieroglyphic-Science*, I ſhall preſume upon this matter, *Philemon*, as already ſufficiently illuſtrated to you. But when, upon the Principle here ſuppoſed, the Number of Divine Symbols was ſo much increaſed in *Egypt*, that the preciſe Reaſons of them in each particular Inſtance were in a manner endleſs to be diſtinctly inſiſted on; and when moreover the general Subject-Matter of the *Egyptian* Theology itſelf was, in a Courſe of Time and Speculation, become more refinedly *Philoſophical*; a ſtill higher way of Thinking was authorized in the Point; which at once apologized for *every* poſſible Caſe of Animal-Superſtition, without deſcending to the more intricate Minutiæ of *any*. Thus it was maintained, " that the Worſhip " ſeemingly paid to particular conſecrated " Animals did not terminate in the Ani-

" mals

" mals themſelves, as a ſuperficial or pro-
" fane Obſerver might imagine; but had
" for its ultimate Object the Divine Power,
" which actuates all things, as diſplaying it-
" ſelf in thoſe Animals *: for that it was
" not in Man alone that the Divinity offer-
" ed itſelf to our Obſervation, but in almoſt
" every kind of animated Nature; where-
" fore, it was thought good to take in every
" ſuch Nature into the Syſtem of Deity †."
Nay, it was even aſſerted, as we find in *Plutarch*, " that Animals were the moſt
" perfect and natural *Specula* in which the
" human Mind could contemplate the God-
" head: inaſmuch as being indued with
" Life, and Senſe, and Self-motion, and
" having a Faculty of diſtinguiſhing diffe-
" rent Objects from each other for their
" own Uſe and Preſervation, they were to
" be conceived of as ſo many ſeveral Streams
" iſſuing from the great common Fountain
" of Life and Intelligence: and had there-
" fore a much nearer Affinity to the Di-
" vine Being, than any Images of human

 " Device,

* Την επι παντων δυναμιν του θεου δια των συνομων ζωων, ων εκαστον τον θεον παρεσχεν, εθρησκευσαν. Porph. de Abſ. Lib. IV. Sect. 9.

† Εγνωσαν ως ου δι' ανθρωπου μονου το Θειον διηλθεν, αλλα σχεδον δια παντων των ζωων, διο εις την θεοποιαν παρελαβον παν ζωον. Porph. de Abſ. p. 154.

" Device, the uninformed Workmanſhip " of the Sculptor, or the Statuary *."

In Conſequence of which way of thinking (ſaid I) our Apologiſts for Brute-Worſhip might with ſtill greater Reaſon have demanded Divine Honors to their *own Perſons*; and have pronounced themſelves to be in right, what they were too much in fact, ſo many Gods to the People: unleſs indeed they were apprehenſive, the People might upon the ſame Principles commence Gods, as well as their Maſters; or were after all honeſtly conſcious to themſelves that, whatever the Argument might ſeem to prove for them, they could indeed have but little Title to a Divine Character, who had ſo far debaſed the human one, as to enter ſeriouſly into the Defence of ſuch a ridiculous Theology.

For the Conſequences of Opinions (returned *Hortenſius*) People are by no means always

* Αγαπητεον ουν ου ταυτα τιμωντας, αλλα δια ταυτα το Θειον, ὡς ενεργεστερων εσοπτρων, και Φυσει γεγονοτων——ἡ δε ζωσα, και βλεπουσα, και κινησεως αρχην εξ ἑαυτης εχουσα, και γνωσιν οικειων και αλλοτριων, Φυσις, αλλως τε εσπακεν απορρoην και μοιραν εκ του Φρονουντος ὁπως κυβερναται το τε συμπαν· οὐδεν ου χειρον εν τουτοις εικαζεται το Θειον, η χαλκειοις και λιθινοις δημιουργημασιν· Plut. de Iſ. & Oſ. p. 382.

always true to them; inaſmuch as they may either not ſee, or not acknowledge, or, which is more to our preſent Purpoſe, not *want* them. For this was certainly the Caſe of our *Egyptian* Apologiſts in the Subject before us: They framed their Hypotheſis with an Eye to a *particular Point only*; and therefore purſued it no farther than the Intereſts of *that Point* required: or, in other Words, as has been intimated above, they found their Countrymen, for Reaſons already mentioned, actually ingaged in the Worſhip of certain Brute-Animals, and then inſtituted a kind of Mock-Philoſophy, which ſhould authorize ſuch a Worſhip: their Speculation in this matter taking its riſe from their Practice, and not their Practice from their Speculation. And here, *Philemon*, at parting with the Subject of the Sacred Animals, I may obſerve to you, that the Doctrine of the *Metempſychoſis*, ſuppoſed by the *Greek* Writers a Native of *Egypt*, is by many People believed to owe its Birth to this Article of her Theology. Indeed the learned *Voſſius* is of opinion, that it was a Corruption of ſome traditionary Notices in Antiquity concerning a general Reſurrection *. But, as he reſts his Opinion

* Imo non animas modo ſupereſſe poſt mortem, conſenſus gentium fuit: ſed apud multas etiam reliquiæ fuere de novâ cum corporibus conjunctione, quam Reſurrectionem dicimus. Sed fœdè eam corruperunt

nion here upon mere Authority without Reaſons, we are certainly at liberty to diſſent from him, if a more probable Account of the matter may be found to offer itſelf; as, I muſt own, I am inclined to think there may yet be given of it, than either of the Accounts hitherto mentioned. Whether Reaſon, or Revelation, firſt taught Men the Belief of the Soul's Immortality, either way the Notion itſelf appears to have been a very antient one in the World.

As, without any thing ſupernatural in the Caſe, (interrupted I) we may well ſuppoſe it *muſt have been:* both, as the Doctrine of a future Exiſtence is a very important Engine of civil Policy; and as it is at the ſame time an Hypotheſis extremely flattering to private Intereſt; a kind of natural Dictate of the human Heart. The Love of Being as ſuch, and Deſire of its Continuance, is inſeparable from every *Conſcious* Poſſeſſor of it. In this reſpect the intriguing Stateſman has one common Feeling

ruperunt in illam, quam dixere μετεμψυχωσιν, quaſi dicas tranſanimationem: item μετεμσωματωσιν, hoc eſt *migrationem de corpore in corpus*: etiam παλιγγενεσιαν, ſive regenerationem. Quæ non Pythagoreorum duntaxat, ſed multarum etiam gentium opinio fuit, & admodum diffitarum. De Egyptiis, teſtis Herodotus; a quibus etiam id hauſiſſe Pythagoram, idem tradit. Voſſ. de Orig. & Prog. Idol. Lib. I. p. 70, 71.

Feeling with the humbleſt Inſtrument of his Ambition: and having once learnt the Biaſs of Human Nature in this Point from *himſelf*, we cannot imagine he would long be at a Loſs to make uſe of it in other People.

In order to which End (ſaid *Hortenſius*) his Buſineſs would certainly be, to repreſent to Mens Thoughts the State of their future Exiſtence under ſuch particular kinds of ſenſible Images, as he ſhould conceive moſt agreable to the popular Reliſh in his Country. Now, do but ſuppoſe, *Philemon*, our Stateſman here to be an *Egyptian* one, and you will, I dare ſay, be of opinion with me, that a better Mode of Repreſentation in the Caſe before us could hardly have been deviſed, than that of a *Metempſychoſis*; a Notion, which, beſides the Countenance it might receive from the Superſtition of the *Egyptians*, as above mentioned, had a ſingular Accommodation to their national Uſage of *Hieroglyphic* Writing: for, whereas in the Courſe of this Practice they had been accuſtomed from the moſt diſtant Antiquity to ſubſtitute Animals for perſonal Characters of *the Living*, they would eaſily, we may imagine, enter into a Sentiment of Things, which ſhould repreſent theſe Animals as the perſonal Reſidence of *the Dead:* this being only to conceive of Death, as changing the

Emble-

Emblematic State of Affairs with Mankind into a *real* one; and allotting them that particular Province of Action in a literal Senſe, in which they had acted throughout Life in a figurative one *. But be this, *Philemon*, as it may—I have now led you through the three principal Stages of the *Egyptian* Idolatry—The Worſhip of the ſeveral

* It muſt be owned that, as *Herodotus* repreſents this matter to us, there ſeems to be nothing of moral Deſignation in it; (the only View in which it can be ſuppoſed to anſwer the Ends of civil Government) ſince according to his Account of it the States of all Men after Death are ſuppoſed the ſame—Πρωτοι δε και τονδε του λογον Αιγυπτιοι εισι εισπουλες, ως ανθρωπου ψυχη αθανατος εστι· του σωματος δε καταφθινοντος, ες αλλο ζωον αιει γενομενον εσδυεται· επεαν δε περιελθη παντα τα χερσαια, και τα θαλασσια, και τα πτηνα, αυτις ες ανθρωπου σωμα γινομενον εσδυνειν· Herod. Lib. II. cap. 123.——But, when it is conſidered, that Philoſophy in *Egypt* was too good a Friend to Legiſlation, not to turn every Point of Doctrine to ſome political Account; that the Doctrine of *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, (both of whom were for ſome time under an *Egyptian* Tutorage, and who, as Philoſophers, had a nearer Intereſt in a Queſtion of this Nature, than a mere Hiſtorian can be conceived to have had) puts a manifeſt Difference between good and bad Men in the future State; and moreover, that *Diodorus* expreſsly informs us that the *Egyptians* themſelves did the ſame, in his Account of their Funeral Ceremonies; when this, I ſay, is conſidered, it may incline one to ſuſpect *Herodotus's* Repreſentation of the Caſe here to be rather inaccurate, and that the *Metempſychoſis* of the *Egyptians* was always intended to carry with it the Idea of a certain moral Diſcipline.

ſeveral Parts and Powers of Nature—Of certain deified Heroes of very remote Antiquity, the Founders of Society, and Inventers of the more neceſſary Arts of Life—And of the Animals conſecrated to theſe ſuppoſed Deities of both Kinds, as Emblems of their Divinity and Perfections—It remains however that I give you ſome ſhort Account of that induſtrious Confuſion of the natural with the civil part of their Theology intimated, you may remember, during our laſt Conference, to have been introduced amongſt the *Egyptians*, in the ſucceſſive Refinement of their Religious Politics; and which is to be conſidered, I think, as the finiſhing Improvement of their ſpeculative Superſtition. For the Grounds of this Confuſion, you are to obſerve, that, whereas the Foundations of their Heroical Theology were laid, as has been all along ſaid, in the very Depths of Barbariſm, the Credenda in this Syſtem were for the moſt part ſuch, as could only paſs upon a rude and ignorant Generation; and were found liable to infinite Cavil and Exception, as Mankind improved in rational Thinking. The Traditions, for Example, received by the *Egyptians*, concerning the Birth and Genealogy of their antient Heroes—Their Courſe of Imployment through Life——the Particularities, and even ſometimes Defects, of their

Perſons *—Their Intrigues and Love-Adventures —— Their Factions and mutual Violences—Above all, that moſt inhuman one committed by *Typhon* upon the Life of the Beneficent *Oſiris*—Theſe were all of them Accounts of things ſo little agreable to the Conceptions which more improved Reaſon taught the *Egyptians* to entertain of Divine Beings; ſuch glaring Diſproofs of all juſt Title to their Reverence in ſome of the chief preſcribed Objects of it; as muſt upon Examination have brought a thorow Diſgrace upon the whole Syſtem of their heroical Divinity, had not the Wiſdom of the Sacred Order, ever tenacious of eſtabliſhed Principles, found out an Expedient to ſcreen in all theſe Caſes the manifeſt Abſurdity of the *literal* Doctrine under the Pretext of an *allegorical* Interpretation. The Expedient was that of Phyſical *Mythology*: a Repreſenting the ſeveral Powers and Paſſions of external Nature under the Idea of ſo many conſcious Perſonages; to whom, when the Mythologiſts had given the Names of their ſeveral Deified Heroes, and placed them in ſutable Circumſtances of Relation to one another, they contrived in ſome meaſure to accommodate the intire Adven-

tures

* Ἱστορουσι γαρ Αιγυπτιοι τον μεν Ἑρμην τω σωματι γενεσθαι γαλιαζκωνα, τον δε Τυφωνα τη χροα πυρρον, λευκον δε τον Ὡρον, και μελαγχροον τον Οτιριν. Plut. de Iſ. & Oſ. p. 359.

tures of the Perſons whoſe Names they bore: in order that all exceptionable Occurrences in their heroic or Demon-Hiſtory might be capable of an innocent Explication into certain correſpondent Articles of natural *.

I ALWAYS thought (interrupted I) *Hortenſius*, the Powers and Paſſions of inanimate Nature had been firſt raiſed into conſcious Perſonality by the mere wanton Generoſity of Poets; and had received it as a voluntary Donation at the liberal hand of the Muſes, inſtead of being thus forced into it to ſerve a Turn in the Politics of an intriguing Hierarchy. But methinks, I want much to know how they ſuſtained the ſeveral Characters here aſſigned them; and with what Succeſs they acquitted themſelves in the different Provinces of the Heroic Hiſtory.

TRUST the *Egyptian* Prieſthood for this, (returned *Hortenſius*;) they had ſtudied the

 Buſineſs

* Τα μεν γεγονοτα πραγματα εξ αρχης απεπεμψαντο, αλληγοριας και μυθους επινοησαντες, και τοις κοσμικοις παθημασι συγγενειαν πλασαμενοι μυστηρια κατεστησαν. Ap. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. Lib. I. p. 32. Ταυτα παντα ὁ Θαβιωνος παις, πρωτος των απ' αιωνος γεγονοτων Φοινικων ἱεροφαντης, αλληγορησας, τοις τε Φυσικοις και κοσμικοις παθεσιν αναμιξας, παρεδωκε τοις οργιωσι, και τελετων καταρχουσι προφηταις· οἱ δε, του τυφου αυξειν εκ παντος επινουντες, τοις αυτων διαδοχοις παρεδωσαν και τοις επεισακτοις. Ibid. p. 39.

Buſineſs of Analogies in things too much in other Subjects, not to be able to make ſomething of it in this, where their Craft was ſo deeply intereſted. What think you of reſolving the whole Hiſtory of *Typhon* and *Oſiris* into the ſucceſſive Stages of the Lunar Period? You perhaps, who are unuſed to Speculations of this kind, may not immediately diſcern the Parallel here; but the Mythologiſts are ready to warrant the juſtneſs of it to a Nicety. *Oſiris*, they will tell you, ſignifies the Orb of the Moon: and, whereas it is related of *Oſiris* in the Sacred Traditions that he lived, or as others will have it, reigned in *Egypt* twenty-eight Years, the Number of Years, ſay they, anſwers to that of the Days in which the Moon completes her Revolution round the Earth. If *Oſiris* reigned for ſome time in perfect Tranquility, the Affairs of his Government going on proſperouſly, and himſelf daily increaſing in Reputation, this, they may obſerve, is fully explaned by the Moon's receiving perpetual Acceſſions of Light during the firſt half of her Courſe. For the Faction headed by *Typhon* againſt this excellent Perſon, they will interpret it of that ſecret Cauſe in Nature which conſtantly diminiſhes the Moon's Luſtre after a certain Stage of her Progreſs. That *Oſiris* is ſaid to have been murdered by *Typhon* on the ſeventeenth Day of the Month,

they will account for by informing you, that the ſeventeenth Day of the Moon's Age is that on which her Decreaſe becomes firſt ſenſible to Sight *. The Report of the Diſcerpſion of *Oſiris*'s dead Body into fourteen Parts by his relentleſs Adverſary they will reſolve into the fourteen Days continuance of the Moon's monthly Wane. And, whereas *Typhon* is ſaid to have diſtributed a Part to each of his Accomplices in the Murder of *Oſiris*, they will explane this of each Day of the Moon's Wane taking away an equal Proportion of her Light. If ſome Traditions repreſented *Oſiris* to have been murdered not ſo much by Violence, as Stratagem, *Typhon* having, at an Entertainment to which he had ingaged him, firſt artfully inticed him into a Cheſt of the exact Meaſure of his Body, and then, by the Aſſiſtance of his Confederates, carried him out into the Sea; to this Relation, they will contend, exactly correſponds the hollowed Figure of the Moon's Orb previouſly to its total Diſappearance †. But, I dare ſay, you have full enough of this Matter.

MUCH more (ſaid I) than I expected could have been made of it at your firſt ſetting

* Ἑβδομῃ επι δεκα την Οσιριδος γενεσθαι τελευτην μυθολογουσιν, εν ᾗ μαλιστα γινεται πληρουμενη καταδηλος ἡ πανσεληνος. Plut. de Iſ. & Oſ. p. 367.

† Plut. de Iſ. & Oſ. p. 367, 368.

ſetting out upon the Compariſon. Mythology, I perceive, was an excellent Defence againſt the Attacks of Pagan Sceptiſciſm. But pray what becomes of the widowed and diſconſolate *Iſis* in the Courſe of this Parallel? She had, doubtleſs, too much Concern in the original Hiſtory here, not to find a Correſpondent Part in the Fable. I will ſuppoſe therefore, that ſhe is one while the Earth regretting the dark and comfortleſs Condition of her Nights during the ſeeming Abſences of her Celeſtial Aſſociate; and another while the Operation of that friendly Power in Nature, by which the gradual Decays of the old Moon are conſtantly repaired every Month in the proportionable Increaſes of the new one.

I SEE (ſaid *Hortenſius*) you would ſoon come, *Philemon*, to be a very notable Mythologiſt. That you may have an Opportunity, if you think fit, of improving your Talent this way, I will leave it with you to imagine how the ſame Piece of Sacred Hiſtory in *Egypt*, which we have here only conſidered in its Accommodation to the Moon, may admit of different Explications into the Phænomena of Eclipſes — The riſings and ſettings of the Stars—The Viciſſitudes of Day and Night——The annual Courſe of the Sun—The ſeveral Accidents of the *Nile*—and the Oeconomy and Procedure

cedure of certain of the natural Fruits of the Earth *. —Not to mention here the abſtract Conceptions of Drought and Moiſture——or, the two contraſted Intereſts of Good and Evil in the Univerſe, about which ſo much, you will recollect, was diſcourſed upon a former Occaſion———And, when you have well ſettled this Matter with yourſelf, I ſhall look upon you as fully prepared to deſcend with me from the Conſideration of *Falſe Theory*, into that of *Falſe Practice* in Religion in the Pagan World—— of which at ſome other Time.

* Εωρα γαρ τους του Ἡλιου δημιουργον Φαμενους, και τα ωερι τον Οσιριν και την Ισιν, και ωαντας τους ἱερατικους μυθους, η εις αστερας, και τας τουτων φανσεις, και κρυψεις, και επιτολας, ελιττομενους, η εις της Σεληνης αυξησεις και μειωσεις, η εις του Ἡλιου ωορειαν, η το γε νυκτερινον ἡμισφαιριον, η το ἡμερινον, η τον γε ωοταμον, και ὁλως ωαντα εις τα φυσικα· Ap. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 3. c. 4. Ὁυτω δε και τοις ωολλοις και φορτικοις επιχειρησομεν, ειτα ταις καθ' ὡραν μεταβολαις του ωεριεχοντος, ειτα ταις των καρπων γενεσεσι, και σποραις, και αροτοις χαιρουσι, τα ωερι τους θεους τουτους συνοικειουντες, και λεγοντες θαπτεσθαι μεν τον Οσιριν, οτε κρυπτεται της γης σπειρομενος ὁ καρπος, αυθις δε αναβιουσθαι, και αναφαινεσθαι, ὁτε Βλαστησεως αρχη· Plut. de Iſide & Oſiride, p. 377.

F I N I S.

Juſt Publiſhed,

Printed for M. STEEN, in *Inner-Temple Lane*;

FUTURE REWARDS and PUNISHMENTS believed by the *Ancients*, particularly the Philoſophers. Wherein ſome Objections of the Rev. Mr. *Warburton*, in his *Divine Legation* of *Moſes*, are conſidered. To which is added,

An ADDRESS to FREE-THINKERS.

——*Petit hinc, Juveneſque Seneſque*
Finem animo certum miſeriſque Viatica Canis. Perſ. 5 Sat.

